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AMERICAN SPEECH

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Newfoundland Names

WILLIAM KIRWIN

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Negro English Dialectology

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Reviews and Letters by

JAMES SLEDD, ELLIOTT V. K. DOBBIE and RAVEN I. McDAVID, JR.

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LINES, COVES, AND SQUARES IN NEWFOUNDLAND NAMES

WILLIAM KIRWIN

Memorial University of Newfoundland

IN NAMING THEIR THOROUGHFARES, the people of St. John's and elsewhere in Newfoundland have used not only the widely known path, lane, street, road, highway, and highroad but have also evolved three other generics. Of these, two are found in the capital city, and many instances of the other are largely clustered in the Avalon Peninsula.¹

A small number of cross-country roads, often running in almost a straight line from a highway to a settlement, have the generic name *line* following the specific. Sometimes they are named for the settlement or point which might be regarded as the terminus of the road, as in *The Bauline Line*, *The Witless Bay Line*, *The Hodgewater Line*, *Horse Cove Line*, and *The Salmonier Line*. Other connecting roads—*The Ruby Line* and *Doolings, Higgins, Roach's, Hurley's, Carey's*, and *Quigley's Lines*—are based on family names. A short distance northwest of St. John's is *The Indian Meal Line*, which in similar fashion crosses the countryside between Portugal Cove and Torbay. The name *The Back Line* is quite accurately applied to short roads in The Goulds and in an area northwest of St. John's; the latter road is now officially named *Ridge Road*. Near Carbonear is *The Line Road*, and *The New Line* runs from Old Perlican to Lead Cove. Other connecting highways, *The Hall's Bay Line* and *Ball's Line*, lie not far from White and Green Bays, but are two hundred miles from St. John's. Without doubt other named lines will come to light.

The most inclusive dictionaries of English are not helpful in explaining this use of the word *line*. In some situations a line is a boundary or limit of a topographical area, apparently determined by surveyors. The *DAE*² best illustrates this usage:

The boundary of a colonial town or colony. Sometimes preceded by a proper name. 1638 . . . "butting southwest upon Cambridge line."
(*Line*, n. II. 4. + a.)

A compound also relating to a boundary and therefore different from Newfoundland usage is cited from Michigan:

1. The exposition of *cove* results from a suggestion made by Professor Raven I. McDavid, Jr., who visited Newfoundland in 1961 to advise on dialect studies in this province. For supplying leads and informed answers, I wish to thank Professors E. R. Seary and G. M. Story, and Dean S. Carew, Mr. E. Foran (City Clerk of St. John's), Mr. W. B. Titford (Crown Lands), Mr. G. Higgins, and Mr. J. Carter.

2. William A. Craigie and James R. Hulbert, eds. (Chicago, 1938-44).

Line road, a road along the boundary line of a township or municipality. (*Line*, n. 16; 1881)

The famous *Mason-Dixon Line* may be cited as a similar instance of a boundary that does not mark any thoroughfare.³ The *NID* 3⁴ also provides evidence for the sense 'boundary' (*Line*, n. 3 e).

No further explanations of *line* meaning 'road' can be found in other important North American, English, Scottish, and Irish dictionaries.⁵ However, the recent Funk & Wagnalls college dictionary⁶ does include an extension of *line* growing out of surveying terminology:

Canadian. In Ontario, a concession road. (*Line*¹, n. 39)

Canadian. In Ontario and Quebec, a road following a survey line. (see *concession road*)

The use of *line* as a common noun has apparently been transported to Newfoundland with the settlers from the British Isles, but information about its occurrence in England is extremely scarce. In 1847 Halliwell⁷ noted *line-way*, with no reference to counties or books where he found it:

A straight direct path. (*Line-way*.)

References to usage in Ireland provide a more fruitful lead. Two glossaries from the north of Ireland⁸ emphasize the newness of the roads:

3. "Mason and Dixon Line," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Chicago, 1951).

4. Philip Babcock Gove, editor in chief (Springfield, Mass., 1961).

5. *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, ed. William Dwight Whitney (New York, 1906); *A Dictionary of Americanisms*, ed. Mitford M. Mathews (Chicago, 1951); *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. C. T. Onions et al. (Oxford, 1944, 1955); *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language*, ed. Henry Cecil Wyld (London, 1932); *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, ed. William A. Craigie and A. J. Aitken (Chicago, 1931–date) [through Part 19: *Levetenand*]; *The Scottish National Dictionary*, ed. William Grant and David D. Murison (Edinburgh, 1931–date) [through Vol. V: *langour*]; *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, ed. John Jamieson, John Langmuir, and David Donaldson (Paisley, 1879–87); *Chambers's Scots Dictionary*, compiled by Alexander Warrack (Edinburgh, 1911; repr. 1962); *An Irish-English Dictionary* [Thomas de Vere Coneys] (Dublin, 1849); *English-Irish Dictionary*, ed. Tomás de Bhaldraithe (Dublin, 1959).

6. *Standard College Dictionary* (Canadian ed.; Toronto, 1963).

7. James O. Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (London, 1887). The OED entry (*Line*, sb.² 32) refers to the first edition of 1847. Equivalents of *path*, *road*, and *lane* have been elicited in the recent study of English dialects. See Harold Orton and Wilfred J. Halliday, eds. *Survey of English Dialects: The Basic Material*; Vol. I. *The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man*, Part II, pp. 375–77. Although some of the transcriptions from these areas (such as [lɔɪn]) are close to certain Newfoundland phonetic renditions of *line*, the English glosses in the *Survey* indicate only *by-road*, *lane*, and *loan(ing)* for a narrow road between hedges.

8. William Hugh Patterson, *A Glossary of Words in Use in the Counties of Antrim and Down* (English Dialect Society Publications, No. 28, 1880), repeated in Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (London, 1898–1905); Michael Traynor, *The English Dialect of Donegal*; *A Glossary* (Dublin, 1953). The recent collection of studies in *Ulster Dialects* (Hollywood, Co. Down, 1964) does not treat any special meaning or usage of *line* in Northern Ireland.

A road. The new roads are so called. (*Line*, (2) *sb.*) [Patterson]

A road, esp. a new one. I came the new line. (*Line*, *n.* 3) [Traynor]

A recent study of Irish roads from the geographer's viewpoint,⁹ however, very clearly explains and illustrates the semantic development of *line* in every part of Ireland, not only in the north, and (plausibly) in the English speech of the Irish emigrants to Newfoundland. The whole study presents dozens of examples showing the special signification of the term, but two quotations may illustrate the usage in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when so many of the Irish settled in St. John's and the Avalon Peninsula:

The positions of the pre-seventeenth century castles and churches suggest that most of the longer lines are of considerable antiquity.¹⁰

The county historian, Charles Smith, referred to the new lines in 1756 with an unmistakable note of pride: "They have, at a great charge, shortened many of the old roads, and carried them in strait lines over rocks and morasses, and heretofore impassable mountains, and deep glins. . . ."¹¹

Yet Andrews specifies no road names with *line* as the generic.

In *The Place-Names of Decies*¹² there is a brief analysis of eight Irish generics used in road names in this area near Cork. None of them suggests the sense of *line*.

Several senses of the common noun *line* will eventually be differentiated in a dictionary of Newfoundland English. The evolution of the modern generic from the common noun appears in the detailed reports to the government on road surveying and construction in the nineteenth century. Surveyors would lay down a "line of road" or "the main line," and workers, many of them receiving Indian meal and molasses for poor relief, would "open the line of road."¹³ These reports do not suggest that the lines followed earlier paths and tracks through the woods, but that they were officially planned and then laid down by surveyors like Byrne:

. . . Byrne, most able and practical of road surveyors, [about 1841] was laying out the great roads to Placentia, the road around Conception Bay and the Bay Bulls line.¹⁴

9. J. H. Andrews, "Road Planning in Ireland before the Railway Age," *Irish Geography*, V (1964), 17-41.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 32. The references are to *The Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry* (1756), pp. 65, 146, and 169-70.

12. Patrick Power, *The Place-Names of Decies* (2d ed.; Cork, 1952), pp. 10-11.

13. These are the phrases used over and over again in the inspectors' and commissioners' reports found in the journal of the House of Assembly in the nineteenth century. It appears from these detailed accounts that *line* is a shortened form of *line of road*. See, for example, the reports of Thomas Byrne, *Journal of the General Assembly of Newfoundland*, 3d Assembly, 1st Session (St. John's, 1843), Appendix, pp. 458-68, and William Magill, *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, 4th Assembly, 1st Session (St. John's, 1849), Appendix, pp. 425-42.

14. D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (London, 1895), p. 448.

The earliest references to a road so far noted appear on page 147 of the *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland* (1835):

. . . it would form part of a new line to Topsail. . . .

. . . nine miles on the new line thus opened. . . .

At the present day the common noun may still be heard, for example, "I went over across the line" (i.e., on the road to visit a friend).

When *line* becomes a true generic in a place name is a matter of definition. Printed sources in the early official lists may indicate the names with or without a capital letter in *line*, and many of these have not been adopted in common usage; maps and road signs omit the determiner *the*. The names of several of the lines cited above were collected from the speech of residents in the locality.

Two typical structures of these road names are found: either a family name, usually with genitive inflection, precedes *line*, or there is a determiner + a noun attributive (the name of a possible terminal point) + *line*. This structuring distinguishes these names from two road signs near St. Patrick's Channel in Nova Scotia—*General Line* and *Yankee Line*.

The use of *line* was widespread among the planners and surveyors in the nineteenth century, and it circulated among the construction workers, who might have been already familiar with the term applied to new roads in Ireland. The generic was adopted in official records for some roads only. These roads have been widened and improved, and today, though like many other gravel roads in the province, still retain the name *line*.

Within St. John's another striking onomastic development of the nineteenth century is the special term *square* employed to name a handful of short streets not noticeably different from dozens of other streets and lanes. The fullest register of these may be seen conveniently in *McAlpine's St. John's Directory* (1908-9)¹⁵ or on the official map of St. John's (1942).¹⁶ Just as *the line* may be rare in the speech of Newfoundlanders, so I have not happened to hear the people of St. John's talk of *the square* in their own neighborhood.

Most of these terms employ St. John's family names, formerly very often with genitive 's: *Allan Square*, *Brazil Square*,¹⁷ *Brennan's Square*,¹⁸ *Burke's*

15. *McAlpine's St. John's Directory . . . 1908-9* (Halifax, 1909), pp. 49-50. McAlpine also includes *Murray's Square* in Harbour Grace (p. 499) and *Reid's Square* in Carbonear (p. 546). I am omitting from this study such names as *Haymarket Square*, *Post Office Square*, *Old Custom House Square*, and *Cavendish Square*, which have been public areas and not residential streets.

16. "Map of St. John's from the Official Plans and Actual Surveys," by W. P. Ryan, City Engineer (1942).

17. The *s-* in *square* has apparently assimilated most of the genitives. *Brazil* is pronounced ['bræz] locally.

18. Not in 1908-9 *Directory*. See Thomas Hutchinson, *Newfoundland Directory, for 1864-65* (St. John's, 1864).

Square,¹⁹ Dick's Square, Larkins Square, Lion's Square,²⁰ Murphy's Square,²¹ Walsh's Square,²² and Tank Hill Square.²³ Another group of streets is named for a near-by institution: *College Square* is close to Bishop Feild College; *Convent Square* abuts St. Patrick's Convent; and *British Square* led from Gower Street to British Hall, where Bishop Spencer College is now located.

The physical appearance of these short streets is not appreciably different from others near them, though they are wide. At present British Square and Walsh's Square are dead ends; College and Convent Squares are L-shaped;²⁴ Dick's and Brazil Square, especially, have boardinghouses with signs above the doors. (Since the fire of 1892, the continuation of Brazil Square to the west after it crosses Casey has been called *Brazil Street*.²⁵) Because of land clearance and other modernizations, Brennan's, Burke's, Larkins, Lion's, and Murphy's Squares were nonexistent in 1965.

It is clear from the dictionaries that *square* is a widely known designation in cities. In England it can be

An open space or area (approximately quadrilateral and rectangular) in a town or city. . . . (*OED, square, sb.* 12.)

and in several cities in the United States it can refer to

A city block; an area, approximately square, bounded by four streets or by streets and avenues (*DA, square, 1*).

None of the English, Scottish, or Irish dictionaries mentioned above helps to explain the application of *square* to a short street. But as more of the social history of St. John's is uncovered and assembled, some hints of a historical explanation can be discerned. For example, British, Brennan's, Dick's, and Lyons Squares were already in existence in 1864.²⁶

The most plausible semantic development that can be offered at present is

19. Not in the 1908-9 *Directory*. See *St. John's City Directory 1924* (St. John's [1924]), p. 17.

20. Also *Lyon's Square*. Miss Agnes O'Dea, of the Library of Memorial University, called my attention to the watchmakers of this name. *Directory for 1864-65*, p. 153: "Lyon John, watchmaker"; *Directory 1924*, pp. 40 and 228: "Lyon A G F Watchmkr Lyon's [Square]."

21. People in the neighborhood now call the short passageway *Murphy's Lane*.

22. Despite the explicit spellings of this name, a good number of speakers pronounce it [wɛltʃ]. Children playing in the area identified it for me as *Welsh's Square*. *Welsh* is the customary spelling of the surname in the census of 1794-95, found in the Gosling Memorial Library.

23. Charles E. Goad, *Insurance Plan of the City of St. John's* (Sept., 1893, and later additions); the index includes "Tank Hill Square, now Simms."

24. A directory description of several of these is not clearly applicable when one visits the streets. For example, see *Henderson's St. John's (Newfoundland) Directory* (Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1963), green pages, p. 138, where Walsh's Square is described: "From 32 Signal Hill rd in semi cir."

25. See Goad's *Insurance Plan* (1893).

26. *Directory for 1864-65*.

that these *squares* were once the plat and houses owned by one person, possibly in contrast with the still existing *ranges* and *rows*, which were also named for owners or builders. The following elucidation, offered by William Barnes, describes the situation about 1871, after his grandfather died:²⁷

My grandfather, that's my mother's father, they used to call him "Old Captain Tom Allen." . . . He made money hand over hand and my grandmother put the money in land and houses. . . .

However, when my grandfather died my grandmother had a great big estate; it was called "Allen's Square." This was quite a large place with houses all around it. A big hill went down from that square; they used to call it "Allen's Hill."²⁸

If this reminiscence is accurate, we may say that many of the streets now called *squares* were once the property of Allen, or Brazil, or Dick, with houses lining a central area on both sides, and that they evolved into prosaic streets when paving was laid down in modern times.

As for all the coves, short side streets running south from Water Street toward the harbor, we can piece together the semantic development more easily. And in this case, the people do speak of *The Cove*, if both parties understand the specific one referred to. At present the following streets, from east to west, are still named *cove*: Job's Cove, Clift's-Baird's Cove, Ayre's Cove, Beck's Cove, Bishop's Cove, and Steer's Cove.²⁹ *Beck's Cove* runs across Water Street; some authorities have called the northern segment *Beck's Cove Hill*. Clearly the specifics on these street signs are the names of merchants who have been located beside the coves, some for over a century.

The physical changes along the water front of such a busy and profitable harbor have been so complex that it is difficult to describe the history of the

27. Thomas Allen is listed in the 1864-65 *Directory*, whereas "Allen Mrs. E. wid Thos" appears in *Lovell's Province of Newfoundland Directory for 1871* (Montreal, 1871), p. 298.

28. William Morris Barnes, *When Ships Were Ships and Not Tin Pots* (New York, 1930), pp. 28-29.

29. These names are on the street signs. Recent official maps by W. P. Ryan (1942) and R. F. Martin (1954) are inconsistent in the naming or omit the word *Cove*.

It is obvious that the names of the ten physical coves (the number varies) have changed with the fortunes and movements of the merchants. Other names are found in earlier records: *R. H. Roope's*, *J. N. Noble's*, *Downing's*, *Darkuses' Ship's Room*, *Ladies' Ship's Room*, *Church Hill Fishing Room*, *Burst Heart Hill*, *O'Dwyer's*, *Monroe's*, *Boden's*, *Stewart's*, *Rogerson's*, *Rendell's*, *Goodfellow's*, *Archibald's*, *Harvey's*, *Hudson*, *McBride's*, *Hunter's*, *Warren's*, *McCarthy's*, *Codner's*, *Gill's*, *Queen's*, *Princess*, *Prescott Street*, and *Temperance*.

There are many references in the older historical accounts to *Magott's* or *Magotty Cove* (often glossed as *Hoylestown*); for example, see D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (London, 1895), pp. 204, 292, and 458. However, in contrast with the streets discussed above, it is evident that *Magotty Cove* was an area near the east end of Water Street and not a thoroughfare.

Old views and plans of the water front, with its beaches, maze of flakes and stores, and wharves may be examined in the plates in Prowse, pp. 292, 296, 348, 374, 450, 458, and 522.

coves in the last two centuries. The following simplified outline presents only the high points which plausibly account for the modern cove streets. The eighteenth-century maps and plans of St. John's³⁰ show about eight streams running into the harbor, in the approximate locations of the coves recorded in later maps and printed sources. Very early the coves where these streams ran into the harbor were regarded as public, and the fishing ships' rooms (the land and flakes assigned to the fishing ships coming from England each spring) were located between them.³¹ Just as the rights to the land in the town—to the ships' rooms—belonged almost exclusively in the eighteenth century to the fishing interests, so the coves were oriented toward the sea and were called *ships' coves*:

. . . precaution against the dreadful event of a fire in this Town requires that a facility of access to the Ships Coves should be preserved in the utmost possible degree. This is to give notice that all obstructions are expected to be removed. . . .³²

A decade later, laws were enacted to prevent the spread of fires by requiring four "cross Streets or open spaces [sixty feet wide] to serve as Firebreaks" to extend from the harbor and up across Water Street.³³ The description of the third (probably the present *Job's Cove*) actually declares "the middle of the Cove to be the centre of the street. . . ."

By the time of the catastrophic fire of 1846 the brooks had been diverted underground, and the ships' coves had thus evolved into firebreaks and streets as Water Street was improved and the harbor line was extended. In the act for the "Rebuilding of St. John's" after the fire,³⁴ twelve cross streets or firebreaks "of eighty feet or the same width as now exists" are prescribed along the water front. Many of these coincide with the locations of the streams and coves of the previous century: *Codner's Cove fire-break*, *Beck's Cove fire-break*, *McBride's Cove fire-break*, *Prescott Street fire-break*, *King's Beach fire-break*, *Hill*

30. One of the best is Lt. Robert Pringle, "A Plan of the Harbour of St. John's in the Island of Newfoundland" (1774), on display in the Newfoundland Naval and Military Museum, Confederation Building, St. John's.

31. An act of the English Parliament, 51 George III, cap. 45 (May 11, 1811), for the leasing of ships' rooms, gives the names of eight rooms, which are said to be on a plan of St. John's, October, 1804, which I have not located. Furthermore, the lengthy and valuable report of Cdr. George Robinson on the encroachment of the harbor in the nineteenth century (in "Report of Committee on Land Tenure," *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland* [1883], 14th Assembly, 1st Session, after Appendix, pp. 127-207) also refers to the rooms and coves in 1804: "The beach at John Woods' Slip appears to be unchanged since the year 1804. Messrs. Harvey and Woods' present houses and stores are built on the Public Cove of No. 8 Ships Room—John Woods" (p. 198).

32. Governor J. T. Duckworth, "General Notice respecting the Ships Coves," *Colonial Records* (typed copy), October 12, 1811. See other references to "Ships Coves" in index.

33. 1 George IV, cap. LI (July 15, 1820). The section treating the four cross streets is reprinted as a note in Prowse, p. 410.

34. 9 & 10 Victoria, cap. 3 (August 4, 1846).

of *Chips fire-break*, *Quidividi fire-break*. Instead of *ships' coves*, at mid-century they were called *public coves*:

As an example of the primitive ways of the living and the backwardness of the system of domestic water supply, he kept a man in winter and a boy in summer to bring water from the pump in the public cove.³⁵

Numerous references to commercial Water Street reveal the nineteenth-century appearance of the coves. On either side, the wharves of the famous houses projected into the harbor. The many firms have been described in great detail in Devine's *Ye Olde St. John's*. And on the sides of the coves—the cross streets—were offices, storehouses (called *stores*), and even some shops. Some fiction appearing in 1887 well illustrates the special signification of *cove* in that era:

One touch of his strong hand on her bowed head and he was gone with quick step across the street, down the passage-way, or "cove," as the people of Jacksonville [that is, St. John's] call the entrance to their wharves.³⁶

Within the last five years, under the harbor-development program, a broad, plaza-like street has grown along the water front, parallel to Water Street. The streets named *coves* have been further separated from the water and the docking areas. No marine coves are in sight.

The semantic applications of these lines, squares, and coves are just one facet in the lexicon of Newfoundland English which has not been noted, recorded, or clarified. They illustrate, in the field of place-name study, some of the untrammelled evolutions that words and meanings have undergone as the local people have used the language without inhibition and academic restraint.

35. P. K. Devine, *Ye Olde St. John's* (St. John's, 1936), p. 47. See also [Joseph Noad, Surveyor-General] *Plan of St. John's* (1853), Crown Lands, Confederation Building; Barnes, p. 24; Goad's *Insurance Plan*, Map 6; Robinson, pp. 138, 189, 199.

36. *Evening Telegram*, Christmas Number, 1887, p. 10.

TOWARD A NEW PERSPECTIVE IN NEGRO ENGLISH DIALECTOLOGY¹

BERYL LOFTMAN BAILEY

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IN HIS ABRIDGMENT OF *The American Language*, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., gives a partial reproduction of H. L. Mencken's treatment of the dialect of Southern Negroes, as follows:

Of all the ethnic dialects on exhibition in the United States the one that has got the most attention, both from the literati and from students of linguistics, is that of the Southern Negroes. Tremaine McDowell says that it made its first appearance in American fiction in Part I of Hugh Henry Brackenridge's satirical novel "Modern Chivalry: Containing the Adventures of Captain Farrago and Teague O'Regan, His Servant," published in 1792, but it had been attempted in plays so early as 1775 and there were traces of it in other writings even before. Then, as ever since, Negro speech has shown a simplified—or at least different—grammatical structure. The origins of that structure were described by Krapp as the development of a dialect comparable to Pidgin English or Beach-la-Mar; and this dialect survives more or less in the Gullah of the sea islands of Georgia and South Carolina. But its vestiges are also to be found in the speech of the most ignorant Negroes of the inland regions, which still shows grammatical peculiarities seldom encountered in white Southern speech, however lowly, *e.g.*, the confusion of persons, as in "I is," "Do she?" "Does you?" "Am you de man?" and "He am"; the frequent use of present forms in the past, as in "He been die" and "He done show me"; the tendency to omit all the forms of *to be*, as in "He gone" and "Where you at?"²

In this condensation, McDavid has highlighted what seems to me to be a curious juxtaposition of a very enlightened statement with an equally unenlightened—as well as completely nonstructural and linguistically naïve—one.

One would have supposed that, following Krapp's suggestion made as far back as 1924, there would have been some effort to investigate the historical backgrounds of that dialect, so that the assertion could by this time be validated or nullified. This would have necessitated, among other things, a description of the dialect in terms of itself and not in terms of some other supposed norm, no matter how feasible such a norm seemed to be. But the American Negro "dialect" has not until recently been granted the autonomy which structuralism so freely accorded to exotic languages and dialects in other parts of the world.

1. This article is the revised version of a paper which was read on March 14, 1965, at the Tenth Annual National Conference on Linguistics sponsored by the Linguistic Circle of New York.

2. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*. Fourth Edition and Two Supplements, Abridged, by Raven I. McDavid, Jr., with the Assistance of David W. Maurer (New York, 1963), p. 475. Although a great deal has been excised, the language of what has been retained is almost identical with that in H. L. Mencken, *The American Language, Supplement II* (New York, 1962), pp. 263-64.

It has remained the stigmatized and unwanted "poor brother" of Standard English, and hence the retention in so eminent a piece of scholarship as *The American Language* of such statements as "confusion of persons," "the frequent use of present forms in the past," and "the tendency to omit all the forms of *to be*"—statements which, as I shall show, are only partially correct and serve merely to obfuscate the true state of affairs. Surely the structuralists must have known that this dialect is used for communication by a large section of our population and that communication would necessarily break down if these elements of structure were indeed "confused." I therefore maintain that only blind ethnocentrism has prevented them from looking further for the real facts underlying the grammatical structure of this dialect.

Recent developments in the study of the Creole languages³ indicate that these languages show such amazing similarities in their grammatical structures that it is convenient to set up a distinct Creole typology in linguistics. Thus, there are English-, Portuguese-, Spanish-, and Dutch-, as well as French-based, Creoles. We are indebted to R. W. Thompson, then at the University of Hong Kong, for the suggestion that the pidgins of the Old World and the Creoles of the New World appear to have developed from some universal trade language or pidgin, most probably Portuguese in origin. Thompson cited the similarities in the verb system of these groups in support of his thesis. More recently, William Stewart has hypothesized that this Portuguese-based pidgin was re-lexified to yield the English, Dutch, and French pidgins which are the progenitors of the Creoles. This idea of a re-lexification which left the original syntax almost intact is a very attractive one and should be further investigated.

As I have already indicated, the second section of the passage cited above runs counter to the tenets of structuralism. It is significant that every one of the examples given refers to the verb, and it is certainly surprising that the verb should be discussed not in terms of the system of which it is a part but in terms of another system from which it is known to have deviated.

I would like to suggest that the Southern Negro "dialect" differs from other Southern speech because its deep structure is different, having its origins as it undoubtedly does in some Proto-Creole grammatical structure. Hence, regardless of the surface resemblances to other dialects of English—and this must be expected, since the lexicon is English and the speakers are necessarily bi-dialectal—we must look into the system itself for an explanation of seeming confusion of persons and tenses.

In order to arrive at a satisfactory description of Jamaican Creole, the

3. I use the word *Creole* to embrace all the mixed languages brought into the New World by West African slaves, whatever the European source language may have been.

dialect of Jamaican Negroes, I was compelled to modify the orthodox procedures considerably and even, at times, to adopt some completely unorthodox ones. The first problem that I had to face was that of abstracting a hypothetical dialect which could reasonably be regarded as featuring the main elements of the deep structure. This may sound like hocus-pocus, but indeed a good deal of linguistics is. A hocus-pocus procedure which yields the linguistic facts is surely preferable to a scientifically rigorous one which completely murders those facts. In all dialectology we are faced with the realization that our populations indulge in considerable code-switching, and consequently it is very difficult to find informants who do not switch codes to suit the occasion.

The American Negro, like the Jamaican, operates in a linguistic continuum. In describing Jamaican Creole, I had to make arbitrary decisions as to which sentences should be included and which discarded in abstracting the basilect.⁴ I discovered that the basilect is regularly spoken only by preschool children and elderly people and by illiterates in the back country. All others, especially those who have had limited schooling, practice considerable code-switching, and any attempt to describe the entire continuum with its intermingling of co-structures would be doomed to failure. Fortunately, I was able to rely on my own *Sprachgefühl* as a native speaker of the language, and the general acceptance of my findings by other Jamaicans has more than vindicated my procedures.

Since I am not a native speaker of any Southern Negro dialect and since my investigations are still in the initial stage, I have, for the purposes of this article, looked into one such hypothetical language: that used by the narrator, Duke, in *The Cool World*.⁵ The rationale here is that an author regularly packs his dialogue with those features which he knows to be most distinctive in the dialect which his characters speak. I am fully aware of the fact that this is not generally accepted as good linguistic procedure, but it seemed to me that this analysis could give some indication of the direction in which we have to move. Since, however, I have approached the Cool World language (*CW*) from my background in English (*E*) and Jamaican Creole (*JC*), I suspect that I may be overlooking some crucial facts which only a native speaker can elucidate.

An analysis of Duke's speech reveals an absence of copulas. In Table 1, I list examples of that absence; the appropriate page numbers in *The Cool World* are enclosed by parentheses.

4. William Stewart has proposed that we employ the word *basilect* to refer to the form most remote from English and the word *acrolect* to refer to the accepted form which most closely approximates English.

5. Warren Miller, *The Cool World* (Boston, 1959).

TABLE 1

Absence of Copula

BEFORE ADJECTIVES

1. I sure they aroun. (26)
2. "I glad he gone." Little Man say. (31)
3. Lu Ann fast asleep in the big bed. Lu Ann naked. (36)
4. You afraid of jail bait Big Man? (37)
5. For a while any way it clear. (90)
6. I keep trying to move away a little but the train too crowded. (106)

BEFORE NOMINALS

7. She a big woman not skinny like my mother. (11)
8. He one of us all right. (11)
9. Here come Duke Custis. He a cold killer. (12)
10. An she look at us one by one like it a line up. (31)
11. I mean you know I feel sorry because they people an they dont have a chance. (52)
12. Chester my best friend we friends since we was little kids. (61)

BEFORE ADVERBS AND PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

13. I in a big hurry. (7)
14. But now I here at this place an they askin me questions. (10)
15. "I with you Duke Man," He say. (36)
16. When you out of something you always wish you was with it. (119)
17. Did you find out anything while you over in they territory? (122)
18. It a place where you can go when you in trouble. (129)

AFTER THE FILLER SUBJECTS "THERE" AND "IT"

19. It black dark and I cant hear only they breathin and the shuffelen of shoes. (27)
20. "It the truth." She say. "It the truth . . ." (29)
21. "It true you bin a little un lucky." Fella say. (50)
22. Mostly they nothing but people on the street. (67)
23. They some women open up a bisness right in they house. (68)
24. They a lot of people on this street have Stomach Trouble. (68)

In the figure below, I provide a simple comparison of the phrase structure rules of nonverbal predications in English, Jamaican Creole, and Cool World. By *nonverbal predications* I mean those predications which do not make use of a verb, the term *verb* being limited here to that class of words which is so designated in Robert Livingston Allen's sector analysis of English. In that system words like *be*, *have*, *can*, and so on, fall into a special category whose primary function is to give time orientation to the predication. Consequently, I shall not here regard the auxiliary *be* as a verb. The statement of the English situation is, of course, extremely simplified; only the gross features are accounted for.

Phrase Structure Rules for Nonverbal Predications

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 E & JC & CW \\
 P \longrightarrow be + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adj} \\ \text{Nom} \\ \text{Loc} \end{array} \right\} & P \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset + \text{Adj} \\ a + \text{Nom} \\ (de) + \text{Loc} \end{array} \right\} & P \longrightarrow \emptyset + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adj} \\ \text{Nom} \\ \text{Loc} \end{array} \right\}
 \end{array}$$

The rules summarized in this figure may be stated as follows: English requires some form of *be* in all nonverbal predications; in *The Cool World*, predicates are used without any copula; and Jamaican Creole has a more complicated system, with zero before adjectives, an obligatory *a* before nominals, and a *de* which is often deleted before locatives.

While I claim a deep structural relationship between *JC* and *CW*, there has not been an identical development of the systems, and it is important that such identity not be assumed. Thus, if we take the second half of Sentence 9 in Table 1, "He a cold killer," we find that, with the exception of *he*—which in *JC* is some form of *him*—the sentences are identical. This is, however, only superficially so. In the *CW* version, there are just two units: the nominals *he* and *a cold killer*. In the *JC* version, there are three units: the nominals *he* and *cold killer* and the copula *a* which may not be omitted. Hence, if the Jamaican really wanted to stress the indefinite article, he would have to use *wan* and say, "Him a wan kuol kila."

The analysis further reveals that the system seems to have an unmarked form of the verb, which—like most unmarked forms—is noncommittal as to time orientation, but that there are certain marked forms which are past and future respectively. It appears that *was* is reserved for events which are completely in the past, while *been* extends from the past up to, and even including, the present moment. *Be* is a simple future, with *gonna* the intentional future. Examples are supplied in Table 2.

TABLE 2

The Tense Markers "been" ("was") and "be" ("gonna")

1. . . . you just end up scared like you was walkin down a empty street at night. (10)
2. He knew we was smoken. (16)
3. . . . you was the sweetest baby so good. (23)
4. I going to see him soon Rod. I been busy with some other little things. (35)
5. They was two women workin at a table with a glass top. (46)
6. I been a salesman 20 years off an on. (50)
7. He been inside too much. (51)
8. You bin smokin with out me? (55)
9. They was just some guys with a racket. (67)
10. "You be back." Priest say lookin at me. "I know you be back Man." (9)
11. Be good to me an I be good for you. (26)
12. "I be here with em befor you are awake." I say. (39)
13. "I be all right." I tell her. (40)
14. I sure you gonna contribit some of you earned money to your mother. (46)
15. Things gonna be a lot diffrent aroun here now Duke in command. (79)
16. Some time I jus gonna take off for that place like a big bird. (81)
17. "They be goin to the moon soon." He say. (88)
18. Thats whut I been thinking Priest. That I leave you say 5 then I be back next week some time with the 10. (96)
19. I see you been thru some trouble lately Boy. (90)
20. "We be waiting for you." Little Flower say. (142)

The analysis also reveals that the American Negro system has a curious deployment of the negative markers *don't* and *ain't*, as shown by the examples in Table 3. *Ain't* is used consistently in nonverbal predications and before the tense markers; it also seems to be the form preferred before the progressive *-in* form of the verb. Whether this exhausts its limitations, and whether *don't* is used in all other cases, remains to be investigated.

TABLE 3

The Negation Markers "don't" and "ain't"

1. That piece aint been worth no fifteen dollas since you was a little boy Priest. (8)
2. I aint paying that kind of bread for no iron like that. (8)
3. He aint comin back. (13)
4. He aint gonna get no money out of it. (34)
5. "I aint afraid of nothin." I tell her. (37)
6. "They aint never anything been right since." (40)
7. Aint nothing decent in our lives. (41)
8. He skinny still but he aint hungry lookin like he uset. (136)
9. Dont get the idee that I aint satisfied with my luck. (136)
10. But this aint the last chance Man. (146)
11. They dont come back aint no point coming back. (146)
12. I dont want to walk up the stairs to my place. (149)
13. I in it an I aint gonna chicken out but I dont have the heart for it no more. (149)
14. I been thinking about that. An they aint no plan. (151)
15. I dont know why he done it. (154)
16. I dont know how long I been sleeping there. (157)
17. I two people an this one aint me. (158)
18. I dont care if they aint room for him. (159)

Lastly, the analysis reveals that, in the American Negro system, the form *they* serves for the possessive pronoun *their*, as indicated by the examples in Table 4. The explanation could be a morphological one, since the pronoun *you* does not change its shape in the possessive (see Sentence 8 in Table 4); hence, we could reasonably conclude that *they* does not change. On the other hand, *CW* has such forms as *his*, *her*, *Lu Ann's*, and so on, which are clearly possessive. Then again, the locative *there* and the expletive *there* are also homophonous with the possessive *their*. Does this mean that the explanation is a phonological one? Or is the explanation both morphological and phonological? It is obviously impossible to decide on the basis of the corpus in *The Cool World*. The best we can do is to make an arbitrary decision, but clearly admitting that it is arbitrary and could easily have gone the other way.

TABLE 4

Treatment of the Possessive "their"

1. Everybody look down at they feet. (14)
2. They must have over a 100 books in they apartment. (16)
3. . . . they come at me with they blades. (27)

4. They jus aint no place in a gang for girls. (35)⁶
5. In the day time those places full of kids and they mothers. (62)
6. People standen there with they mouths open watchin. (70)
7. . . . they gotta make they move right then and there . . . (77)
8. An all the apartments have they own toilet so you dont have to go out in the hall an wait you turn. (95)
9. You find you self some pencil and paper an make a list. (101)⁷
10. I decide it then and they at the table by my self. (112)⁸
11. They aint drinkin it but only breathin it. Hold it up to they nose an taken deep breaths. (151)

One of the first things to be done is to train some of the native speakers of our Southern Negro dialects and to rely on their intuitions to throw light on those issues which are bound to remain unsolved, even after we have revised our approach along the lines suggested in this article. As I stated above, this has been an excursion into a literary text. But here, at least, I have been able to show that subsystems can be abstracted—subsystems which are so ordered as to make it possible to ignore certain categories which are basic in English.

6. This sentence is included for comparison only.

7. See n. 6.

8. See n. 6.

AMERICANISMS FROM HORSE RACING ACCOUNTS IN THE "SPIRIT OF THE TIMES"

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I N MY EARLIER ARTICLE, "Horse Racing Accounts in the *Spirit of the Times*,"¹ I indicated that Americanisms occurring in the *Spirit* would be dealt with in a separate article. Listed below are 108 vocabulary items, accompanied by illustrative quotations from the *Spirit* and divided into three categories: (1) Americanisms not previously recorded; (2) antedating quotations that indicate the priority of the *Spirit*'s usage; and (3) new or original senses of existing expressions. The historical dictionaries cited are the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Supplement* (OED), the *Dictionary of Americanisms* (DA), the *Dictionary of American English* (DAE), and the *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (DSUE). Whenever possible, I have provided a definition taken from, or adapted from, one of these dictionaries.

The following glossary consists of expressions which have not been recorded in the above sources.

BEAT INTO LINT. To trounce or defeat an opponent. XII (August 20, 1842), 300: "Portsmouth beat him into 'lint' in two mile heats. . . ."

CONFESS THE CAPE. To acknowledge an error. X (August 29, 1840), 306: "With regard to Wagner's beating Zelina at Mobile in 1838, we 'confess the cape.' In our memoir, that race was omitted."

COPPER BOTTOM. A horse of a copper color. X (April 25, 1840), 90: "Among the trotters and pacers were Commodore, Reform, and 'Uncle Ned's' Davy Crockett, . . . with a host of 'copper bottoms,' names unknown to me."

CUTTING RACE. A hard-fought, exciting race. XI (October 23, 1841), 403: "They ran a cutting race to the completion of the first mile, when Anne gave it up. . . ."

DAISY-CROPPER. A race horse. XII (March 26, 1842), 42: "The 'Mountain filly' Sarah Washington is one of 'em, among the speediest daisy-croppers of the day. . . ."

DEAD GAME HORSE. A horse with spirit and determination to win. XI (February 19, 1842), 597: "Both were distinguished as 'dead game horses,' and their play . . . was 'a distance and heats to boot.'"

DOUBLE-TRIPE CRITTER. An extraordinary person. X (October 3, 1840), 366: "This double-tripe critter told us of a h—l of a big *sink* in the Floridas that lay right in the heart of a level country."

GISM, *n.* XII (October 29, 1842), 409: "At the drawgate, Spicer tried it on again but his horse was knocked up 'the gism' and the starch was effectively taken out of him by the long and desperate struggles he had been obliged to maintain, so that 'he couldn't come it.'"

GO-ALONG POINT. A characteristic of a great race horse. X (April 4, 1840), 54: "Boston is the most racer-like horse I ever saw. Nothing can have the go-along points in greater perfection than he has."

1. *American Speech*, XL (1965), 20-31.

- GO-TO-MILL GAIT. A leisurely gait of a trotting horse. XIII (September 30, 1843), 361: "They got off well together, but before making the first turn the breeching of the black horse broke, when Jim shot ahead; then dropping into a 'go-to-mill gait,' went the two miles at his leisure. . . ."
- HARD IN HAND. Riding with a tight rein. X (September 5, 1840), 318: "In running the first mile, coming down the stretch, Pleasants hard in hand . . . Pleasants took fright at a gentleman near the track, threw his rider, but continued to lead two miles."
- IN A CORNUCOPIA. Variation of *in a horn*, an expression used to qualify a falsehood, implying the reverse of what was said. XII (January 7, 1843), 537: "The original report was surmounted by the caption of 'The Best Race Ever Run in the World!' which it is—*in a cornucopia!*"
- IN THE RIGHT KEY. In a good mood, of agreeable disposition. XI (February 26, 1842), 614: "His son-in-law, Judge H., when in the right key, was a most agreeable man, and fond of fun."
- KILLDEVIL ROARER. (*DAE*, 1827: *roarer* 'a person regarded by himself or others as a notable figure.') XI (November 20, 1841), 447: "[The horse was] mounted by a killdevil roarer of a white boy. . . ."
- KNOWING COVE. Variation of *knowing one*, 'a person professing expert knowledge of turf matters.' XI (October 23, 1841), 403: "The knowing coves got most awfully taken in, several bets having been made at ten to one on Columbus [the losing horse]."
- LAY TO THE WALL. To defeat or force a rival to submit. XI (December 25, 1841), 505: "So 'old White Nose' has been 'laid to the wall' by the fleet daughter of Trustee!"
- MAKE A SHORT RUB OF IT. To accomplish something easily and speedily. XI (October 16, 1841), 390: "He would at the same time be glad to run Boston four mile heats, vs. any two horses in the world, for \$20,000 on each heat, and \$5,000 more that he made 'a short rub' of it."
- OVERSIZE ONE'S PILE. To overestimate one's resources. (*DA*, 1840: *to size* [someone's] *pile* 'to match or equal an opponent, to bet with, estimate correctly someone's resources.' *Colloq.*) XIII (August 5, 1843), 265: "You oversize my pile, but if I can borrow the money, I'll accommodate you."
- PARALOO. Winnings, profits. XI (January 8, 1842), 535: "Both the meetings here yielded a rich harvest to the *suckers*. The odds were generally from two to ten to one, on each heat, the *sharps* falling invariably every *pop*. A man could have started with a shinplaster, and run the *paraloo* to a seat in Congress. . . ."
- PILE IT UP TO THE LAST PICAYUNE. To bet all one's money on a horse. XII (April 9, 1842), 67: "The Earl's friends, too, 'pile it up' on him to the last picayune."
- PRICE OF PUTTY. X (April 4, 1840), 54: "It [a letter] was from some 'sucker' in Texas, asking our opinion—not about 'the price of putty,' but whether he could probably secure a patent in Washington for his original invention of a mouse-trap, a corn sheller, or something of the sort."
- PUT THAT IN YOUR TOBACCO VANISHER. Variation of *put that in your pipe and smoke it* (*DSUE*, 1824). XI (October 2, 1841), 367: "Well, it's a fact—Beauswig might—but *I* wouldn't. Put that in your tobacco vanisher."
- RAKE DOWN THE SOCKS. To win the money. XIII (November 18, 1843), 431: "She [a horse] is a perfect wax figure and all believed that she would rake down the socks."
- SAUSAGE CHOPPER. A choppy, ragged gait. X (March 7, 1840), 1: "A clean trot, none of your 'single-footed,' 'sausage choppers,' or 'high skivers,' as Gil. calls them."
- SEND THE HOE AFTER THE HANDLE. X (February 27, 1841), 619: "The Carolinians would back Fanny against the world and for the race bet heavily on her 'with a determination to double their money or send the hoe after the handle!'"
- SINGED COLT. A horse whose poor appearance belies his racing ability. (*DAE*, 1837: *singed cat*—"His new friend, however, proved to be like a singed cat, much better than he looked.") XII (April 2, 1842), 54: "There is a rumor current that this two-mile

horse has gone to Canada. . . . He will turn out 'a singed colt' to any one who picks him up for 'a sucker.' "

STICK DOWN ONE'S PEG. To decide upon a sum. XII (December 31, 1842), 524: "The original proposition was to run all three matches 'for \$5,000 *or more*,' '\$10,000 *or more*,' and '\$20,000 *or more*.' This '*or more*' left the acceptors of the three matches at liberty to 'stick down their peg' for as much '*more*' as they thought proper."

STRAINED QUART. Expression signifying an inebriated condition. X (January 2, 1841), 523: "I really—until otherwise informed—thought him under the influence of at least a 'strained quart.' I found out, however, it was but a way he had."

SUCKER HORSE. A worthless horse. XIII (June 10, 1843), 174: "Wilton Brown is a long way from being a 'sucker horse' but he couldn't shine."

TAKE THE CORN. To win the race and the prize money. XI (April 3, 1841), 54: "They are all 'good 'uns,' but I think Sarah or the vender of nutmegs will one of them, take the corn."

TALKING OF GUNS. Interpolative expression implying a change of subject. (*OED*, 1886: *talking of* . . .) X (May 23, 1840), 37: "By the way, 'talking of guns,' we shall take it as a great favor if our correspondents will send their orders for English magazines, papers, etc., direct to Messrs. Wiley and Putnam, instead of ordering them from this office."

TALL DOG. (*DA*, 1834: *tall*, 'denoting something regarded as superlative or unusual, remarkable, extravagant, etc.' *Colloq.*; 1852: *tall fodder*.) XI (February 26, 1842), 615: "I reckon Reel, Bosting, and all sich must look out—Dick Cobble has the tall dog now—."

TOUCH KNEES UNDER MAHOGANY. To participate at a convivial occasion. XV (May 3, 1845), 110: "Gentlemen . . . are also respectfully and most heartily invited to 'touch knees under mahogany' with members of the Jockey Club and their friends."

TURTLE TO TRIPE. Pertaining to betting odds. XIV (June 8, 1844), 174: "Before this unfortunate circumstance occurred the odds on him were turtle to tripe, or 'the Royal Proclamation to a Penny Ballad.' "

WIND KICKER. A fast race horse. XII (March 12, 1842), 18: "[This horse is] a real 'wind kicker' according to Larkin's elegant and peculiar account of her. . . ."

WORMY. Impatient, anxious. XI (February 26, 1842), 609: "The betting men begin to be 'wormy' on the subject, and desire to know which of the nominations are alive, and how many are likely to come to the post."

The following glossary consists of expressions whose quotations represent an antedating of the use recorded in the dictionaries mentioned above.

BIRD. (*DA*, 1849: 'a person or thing of excellence, often *perfect bird*.' *Slang*.) X (June 27, 1840), 199: "I observe that an Ivanhoe has been winner and a second. Kendall has made a good beginning, and Sufferer may yet prove a 'bird.' "

BITE, *n.* (*OED*, 1846: 'a horse whose poor appearance may be deceptive as concerns his racing ability.') X (September 12, 1840), 330: "This race completely took in the 'sharps,' who brought the bay filly as a 'bite' on purpose to beat the chesnut, who won the race; but when they came to 'try it on,' it was 'no fit.' "

BRUSH. (*DAE*, 1846: 'a short and rapid run or race.') XI (October 16, 1841), 390: "The third mile was 'a brush' throughout. . . ."

BUG-EATER. (*DA*, 1859: 'an insignificant or trifling fellow.' *Obs.*) X (October 3, 1840), 366: "Now I'm no bug-eater 'bout politics, sartin—and you'll see it."

BUSTER. (*DAE*, 1845: 'an animal or thing of unusual size or quality.') XII (October 22, 1842), 402: "If Fashion runs at Camden, she will have to run against Blue Dick and not Boston. She will beat Blue Dick—but he is a 'buster!' "

COME IT. (*DAE*, 1846: to succeed in an undertaking; usually with negative.) XII (October 29, 1842), 409: "At the drawgate, Spicer tried it on again but his horse was knocked up

the 'gism' and the starch was effectively taken out of him by the long and desperate struggles he had been obliged to maintain, so that 'he couldn't come it.' "

COME ON, BIRD'S EGGING. (*DA*, 1854: *go on with your birds'-egging, etc. Colloq.*) XI (February 12, 1842), 590: "One of the Committee writes us that we are 'all in the wrong' about the decisions made by the Committee at New Orleans, and that he shall shortly give us a shot that will *make us squat!*—'Come on, bird's egging!'"

CRACKING RACE. (*DAE*, 1903: *cracking race*, 1830: *cracking work*; *OED*, 1880: *cracking pace*.) X (March 7, 1840), 7: "From Camden Boston came to Long Island, where Decatur *was* to have made a cracking race. . . ."

CRACK OF THE DAY. (*OED*, 1843: best race horse.) XI (July 10, 1841), 222: "Of the 'cracks of the day,' very few of last season or of the present Spring, will be unable to 'come again.'"

CROWD THE MOURNERS. (*DA*, 1848: 'to exercise undue pressure, to push or hurry in an unseemly way.' *Colloq.*) XII (November 5, 1842), 426: "In the second mile, however, Fashion commenced 'crowding the mourners,' by brushing down both straight sides. . . ."

FIELDER. (*OED*, 1853: in sports, 'one who backs the field against the favorite.') XIV (April 6, 1844), 67: "The fielders were for once right. . . . The reliance of the 'fielders' was undoubtedly Norma, and yet Ann Hays had friends from her very fine performance two days previous."

FLYER. (*DAE*, 1856: 'a race horse.') XII (June 4, 1842), 163: "We hope the Rocket of our fine old friend Dr. W. may be such another 'flyer'; he certainly 'goes off' well."

FORK OVER THE CASTINGS. (*DA*, 1846: *casting 'a coin.' Slang. Obs.*) XIV (September 21, 1844), 354: "He accordingly forked over the castings, \$600 in number."

GIVE (SOMEONE) JESSE. (*DA*, 1844: 'to scold, thrash, beat soundly.' *Slang.*) XII (March 19, 1842), 30: "Is [*sic*] she could only be slipped in that snap between Boston and Fashion, she would give them Jesse."

GO IT BLIND. (*OED*, 1846: 'to plunge into a course of action without regarding the consequences.') X (March 14, 1840), 18: "Now, Kendall, if you want to lick it to 'em, *some*, just 'set your meg.' Don't think of 'going it blind,' but according to Walker!"

GO (ONE'S) PILE. (*DSUE*, 1885: *go the whole pile* "to put all one's money on a solitary chance.") X (December 19, 1840), 498: "Considerable sums were laid out . . . the Georgians 'going their pile' on the Andrew filly . . ."

HARD CUSTOMER. (*DAE*, 1855: 'a person hard to deal with.') XIV (November 23, 1844), 464: "It was by no means a soft snap; if he meets her again, and she is in condition, he will find her a hard customer."

HAVE A FLY. (*DSUE*, 20th century, Australian: 'to try it; to make an attempt.') X (September 12, 1840), 330: "It has all along been understood that Col. Johnson would take a full stable South, and there have been rumors that *Treasurer* designed following on in the same direction to have 'a fly' at the 'old 'un' should the Georgia colt pay forfeit."

HAVE FOOT. (*DA*, 1852: *have foot for* of horses, 'to be adaptable to.' *Colloq.*) X (May 23, 1840), 139: "Julia Burton had about as much 'foot' as Veto, and some of her races last season were made in remarkably good time."

IN A HORN. (*DAE*, New Orleans *Picayune*, September 10, 1840: a phrase used to qualify a falsehood.) X (March 7, 1840), 7: "Duane was sold after the first heat to Mr. William N. Friend, of the Camden Course, for \$12,000—('in a horn!')." ²

LAY DOWN THE SPOOLS. (*DA*, 1898: *lay down* 'to submit to, give up, cease trying, fail to function.' *Colloq.*) XIII (November 18, 1843), 431: "She was obliged to 'lay down the spools' to Wells."

2. For several months following this use of the term, a controversy raged in the *Spirit* concerning the meaning of *in a horn*. By September, when the *Picayune's* usage is recorded, the expression had become quite familiar to readers of the *Spirit*.

- LAY UP IN LAVENDER. (*DSUE*, c. 1870: turf, 'ill; out of the way.') XI (October 2, 1841), 366: "Pickwick 'laid up in lavender' the first heat, and won the last two heats easily."
- MASH, *n.* (*OED*, 1852: 'something reduced to a soft pulpy consistency by beating or crushing'; "a complete mash of a man.") X (March 7, 1840), 7: "Decatur's friends, however, not having got 'enough,' Boston made 'a perfect mash of him' the next week."
- OUT ON A LIMB. (*DA*, 1897: 'at a disadvantage.') XI (June 12, 1841), 175: "This was a severe shot, and all present considered Uncle Ned 'out on a limb,' where the hunter chased the coon—the jumping-off place, awfully steep."
- PAY THE FIDDLER. (*DA*, 1867: 'to suffer the consequences of one's actions.') XI (June 26, 1841), 198: "Now that the jig's ended, and the fiddler paid, I propose to offer a few speculations upon the characters of the dancers . . ."
- PILE THE CHIPS. (*OED*, 1851: *chips* 'money.' *Slang*.) X (April 11, 1840), 61: "He is perfectly willing to 'pile the chips' for any distance."
- RAKE THE CAKES. (*DAE*, 1846: *take the cakes* 'to take the prize.') XII (April 9, 1842), 66: "The Cymons and Sarpedons [horses] will 'rake the cakes.' "
- RASPER. (*OED*, 1860: 'anything remarkable or extraordinary in its own way.') XIV (October 19, 1844), 403: "She promises to be a perfect 'rasper,' and will have some 'tall' chronicling in the 'Spirit' before all of her yarn is spun."
- SAG AROUND. (*DAE*, 1879: *sag* 'to loiter in walking, to idle along, to drag or droop heavily.') XI (December 25, 1841), 512-13: "Now to our mind, he is not a 'turfman' really, who merely 'sags around' from one race course to another, to bet on this and the other horse, for the purpose of gaining a living."
- SET-TO. (*OED*, 1842: in racing, 'the struggle of the last few yards between two horses very nearly equal.') X (May 9, 1840), 115: "For two miles he trailed, keeping his horse in position for a set-to in the last milc."
- SHAKE DOWN THE PERSIMMONS. (*DA*, 1857: *shake up the persimmon(s)* 'to pocket the winnings, to get the prize.') XI (December 18, 1841), 499: "They had not forgotten that the game little mare had put Sarah up to 7:45—7:40, in March last, and it seemed as if it was now their turn to 'shake down the persimmons.' "
- SHARP. (*OED*, 1865: 'an expert, connoisseur, a wise man or one professing to be so.') X (September 12, 1840), 330: "This race completely took in the 'sharps,' who brought the bay filly as a 'bite' on purpose to beat the chesnut, who won the race; but when they came to 'try it on,' it was 'no fit.' "
- SOCK IN. (*OED*, 1845: 'to hit, strike hard.') XIII (July 15, 1843), 234: "About one hundred yards from home, Spicer pulled Beppo out, and 'socked in' his spurs. . ."
- SOFT SNAP. (*DAE*, 1845: 'a good thing; a place or job requiring little or no work.') XI (October 9, 1841), 378: "One of them, however, . . . suddenly lamed herself, and another . . . 'found a softer snap,' so they paid forfeit to The Heiress. . ."
- SOME. (*DA*, 1845: 'remarkable, deserving of special notice.' *Colloq.*) X (March 14, 1840), 18: "Now, Kendall, if you want to lick it to 'em, *some*, just 'set your meg.' "
- TAKE THE STARCH OUT OF. (*DA*, 1939: in sense of 'to tire or weary.' *Colloq.*) XII (October 29, 1842), 409: "At the drawgate Spicer tried it on again but his horse was knocked up the 'gism' and the starch was effectively taken out of him by the long and desperate struggles he had been obliged to maintain, so that 'he couldn't come it.' " Also (*DA*, 1868: in sense of 'to deflate, to make less haughty.' *Colloq.*) X (April 25, 1840), 90: "The Philadelphians . . . are in prime twig, but there is something in training in these parts that will be very apt to 'take the starch out' of any conceit they may have about 'making a perfect mash' of us this season."
- TOP OF THE HEAP. (*DA*, 1855: *fig.* 'the most advantageous position.' *Colloq.*) XIV (March 2, 1844), 6: "Again Fashion is at the 'top of the heap.' "
- TOST [TOSSED]. (*DSUE*, 19th and 20th centuries: 'drunk.') X (October 3, 1840), 366: "As I finished the above, 'J. of F.' hauled me up to a mixture of cognac and water, and

said he would have written you a report but for my being here. He's a leetle sorter 'tost' tonight, as the sailors say, but a confoundedly good 'un.' "

TURFITE. (*OED*, 1846: 'a votary or frequenter of the turf, a racing man.') X (June 13, 1840), 175: "That [report] of the fourth day is by an old turfite, and is, I think, a correct and true description of the race. . . ."

The following glossary consists of expressions whose meanings are different from those recorded in the dictionaries cited.

BREAK GROUND. To get away first from the starting line in a race. (*DA*, 1827: 'to prepare a new piece of land.') XI (October 9, 1841), 373: "Amelia Priestman had the honor of 'breaking ground,' which, however, was of short duration; she was quickly caught by Sarah. . . ."

BRUSHING POINT. A position in a race from which one horse can pass another. (*DA*, 1868: *brush* 'to drive (a horse) smartly or briskly.') XI (November 13, 1841), 438: "No effort of a boy situated as was her rider could bring her up to a 'brushing point.' "

COME TO TAW. To enter a race, to compete. (*OED*, 1854: *taw* 'the line from which players shoot in the game of marbles'; 1884: 'a ring, or taw line—hence *come up to taw*.') X (March 7, 1840), 6: "From another quarter we have understood that Boston, in the course of six weeks, will be *en route* for the stable of another 'Napoleon,' at Columbia, South Carolina—that is, if Wagner 'comes to taw.' "

COOL OFF. To recover from the exertion of the previous race by being walked slowly and rubbed down (said of horses). (*OED*, 1890: "Jupiter and Saturn do not seem yet to have cooled off to anything like the earth's condition.") XI (October 16, 1841), 391: "They cooled off well, and came up quite fresh for the second heat."

CORN CRACKER. A race horse. (*DA*, 1835: 'a nickname given to the inhabitants of various southern states, especially Kentucky'; *OED*, 1837–1840: 'U.S. contemptuous name for "po" white.') X (October 3, 1840), 367: "Both horses were green 'uns, and Black Hawk promises, with a fair chance, to be a regular 'corn cracker.' "

CROSS CUT. A type of race. (*OED*, 1800: 'a direct path between two points, transverse or diagonal to the main way'; *DA*, 1842: 'a way of cutting cards.') XI (September 18, 1841), 342: "There is an *on dit* afloat that Rio Janerio 'Jim' and Kentucky 'Loo' are matched to run a *cross cut* in for two dozen aside."

CUT AND COME AGAIN. Characteristics of a horse, implying stamina, spirit, and strength. (*OED*, 1738: *cut and come again* 'the act or faculty of cutting from a joint of meat, etc., and of returning to help oneself as often as one likes; hence, unfailing supply, abundance.') XI (June 26, 1841), 198: "I need only state that he 'swept down the corn' [at] Fredericksburg in the 'jammed-up' time of 1:49–1:51–1:49 . . . to prove that he has not only the 'cut and come again' but my entire confidence in his composition."

GET ABOUT, *n.* Ambition, spirit. (*OED*, 1857: *get about* 'to make one's way about, go from place to place; also, to begin to walk after an illness, etc.') XIV (September 21, 1844), 354: "Mr. Gerald, being a judge, discovered at once that he was rather a remarkable horse, and that there was some 'get about' in him."

GET HUNK. To recoup one's betting losses. (*DA*, 1848: *hunk* ' "home," in a game'; a goal or place of refuge.) XV (May 24, 1845), 146: "Those who lost their money on Fashion had two or three chances to 'get hunk,' especially on the last day."

GIN, *v. t.* To keep up with, compete with. (*DA*, 1887: *gin her up* 'to make things hum.' *Colloq.*) XI (February 26, 1842), 615: "Ain't that ar Real a caution; why I do reckon old Bullet-neck couldnt gin her more nor ten feet down the quarter-stretch."

GINNED OUT. Discouraged, dispirited. (*DA*, 1894: *gin up* 'to indulge in gin'; *DSUE*, c. 1920: *ginned up* 'tipsy.') XI (October 2, 1841), 367: "I went into the St. Charles [Hotel] last night, and 'so help me, Bob,' . . . if I wasn't perfectly 'ginned out' . . . I can tell you the yellow fever has *hardly* begun."

- GOOD AS A BILE [BOIL]. Characterizing betting odds. (*DA*, 1805: *boil* 'a turbulent swirl or eddy in a river, usually with reference to the Mississippi.') XII (April 23, 1842), 90: "Bets of five to four on Boston are 'good as a bile.'"
- GO THE CAPER. To enter a contest or race and perform admirably. (*DAE*, 1840: *caper* 'a device, idea, performance, or occupation.') XII (April 30, 1842), 102: "If any other horse should ever 'go the caper,' he may take the saddle and welcome."
- HANG, *n.* A contest. (*DAE*, 1846: a hang, *n.*—a hanging.) X (March 7, 1840), 6: "Since the match [between Boston and Wagner] begins to *squint* at something like 'a hang,' betting men here are regarding the *chances* in Wagner's favor, with a kind of seriousness."
- HANG, *v. i.* To race. XI (September 25, 1841), 354: "I should like to see Blount and Mariner 'hang.' It would, in my opinion, make an interesting and betting race."
- HIGH SKIVER. Pertaining to a gait of a trotting horse. (*OED*, 1854: *skive* 'to move lightly and quickly, to dart.') X (March 7, 1840), 1: "A clean trot; none of your 'single-footed,' 'sausage choppers,' or 'high skivers,' as Gil. calls them."
- HITCH UP A LITTLE. To increase one's effort a bit. (*DAE*, 1898: *make a hitch of it* 'to make a go of it, to get along well together.') XI (December 4, 1841), 486: "A splendid race from start to finish, and Boston and Fashion, . . . would have had to 'hitch up a little' to have kept good company."
- IN A RUCK. In a group (said of horses running in a race, with no horse in the lead). (*OED*, 1846: racing—those horses which are left behind in a body by the fastest goers.) (1) X (October 10, 1840), 380: "There had been no such excitement this week, and when Randal blew his bugle, away they all flew in a ruck. . . ." (2) XIV (October 19, 1844), 403: "At the half mile, they were all in a 'ruck.'"
- JERK THE BIRCH INTO. To criticize severely. (*DA*, 1807: *jerk* 'to move involuntarily and convulsively under the influence of religious excitement.' *Obs.*) XIV (May 11, 1844), 126: [A Southern correspondent had savagely attacked Northern horses and racing practices.] "So long as he 'lays it on' with such a grace we don't much care how often he 'jerks the birch into 'em,' ourselves included."
- KIVEE, *v. t.* To tear into, fight savagely. (*OED*, 1876: *kiveed*, *n.* 'a shallow wooden vessel thbutterat is made up in.') XI (July 3, 1841), 211: "Once in a while he [a bear] hugged them [several dogs] a little tighter than ever Dan did his sweetheart, but they fairly *kiveed* him."
- LAI'D ON THE SHELF. Out of action (said of horses). (*DSUE*, 19th and 20th centuries: 'pawnd'). XV (September 13, 1845), 339: "Poor fellow, he has not seen yet that Peytona is laid on the shelf."
- OUTSIDER. A man who bets the field against the favorite horse. (*OED*, 1857: horse racing—a horse not included among the "favorites," and against which in betting long odds are laid—one not in the running; *DSUE*, c. 1860: 'one who fails to gain admission to the ring or turf.' *Colloq.*) XV (May 31, 1845), 158: "The 'outsiders' won 'smartly' on both races, and the staunch friends of Fashion, who have backed her 'all through,' have 'got hunk' and a good deal over. . . ."
- POKE, *n.* A worthless horse. (*DAE*, 1848: 'a lazy or slow person, a stupid person.') XIV (August 31, 1844), 318: "I have seen but two of his get, and they were both unqualifiedly *worthless*—perfect pokes."
- POP, *v. t.* To defeat a rival. (*DSUE*, 1725: to fire a gun. *Colloq.*; *DA*, 1867: in baseball, 'to hit a high short ball easily caught.' *Colloq.*) X (May 9, 1840), 115: "It was perfectly understood that, if himself, he could 'pop' *Billy Townes* at any distance."
- SCRATCH, *n.* A horse race. (*OED*, 1840: 'a skirmish, a trivial fight.') XII (May 7, 1842), 114: "We plan to witness the 'seratch,' . . . and our readers may expect the earliest report of the affair through the *Pieayune*."
- SET ONE'S MEG. To bet, to put up the money. (*OED*, 1781: *meg* 'a halfpenny.' *Slang and Dial.*) X (December 19, 1840), 498: "The matter is of no consequence, however, for

- Fanny can 'plump it' as low down into the forties as any party about here may require, for the size of their pile, and they can 'set their meg' as to the difference." *See also* SOME.
- SNAP. A horse race. (*DA*, 1845: a snap game, 1865: 'a game [*Snap*] played by young people'; *OED*, 1864: 'any article or circumstance out of which money may be made.') X (August 29, 1840), 306: "I would like to see Wagner, Treasurer, and a few others in the snap."
- TAKE THE MEASURE. To challenge successfully. (*OED*, 1430: 'to take the measure of a person for clothes'; *DA*, 1910: *measure up to*.) XIV (November 30, 1844), 474: "There was some pretty good running; and [it] would have been *considerably* better if the 'enterprising Captain Tunstall' had brought his Ridge or Paschall colt, or something faster than Elizabeth Jones to 'take the measure' of John Ross."
- TRUCK. Prize money. (*DAE*, 1638: 'commodities used in trade.') (1) XII (May 21, 1842), 144: "If Fashion starts for the four mile purse at Trenton, I'll bet our fares and 'fixins' from Gotham that she carries off 'the truck.'" (2) XV (March 1, 1845), 2: "If you should see the 'Ex-Santa Fe prisoner' before I meet him, bet him on my account . . . that Fashion takes down the 'truck,' which nothing but a good 'un can snatch from the pet of the South!"
- TRY IT ON. To exert a maximum effort to win. (*DSUE*, c. 1810: to make an attempt [to outwit, to impose on a person].) XIV (October 19, 1844), 403: "The Colonel [a horse] now and then 'tried it on' to no purpose . . ."
- TWO BULLETS AND A BRAGGER. Excellent race horses. (*DA*, 1807: a winning hand in brag, a card game.) XI (October 23, 1841), 402: "Zenith, Magnate, and Jim Bell are 'two bullets and a bragger' that Kentucky can 'travel on' and 'pay expenses.'" "
- WIN BY A THROATLATCH. To win by a small margin. (*OED*, 1794: *throatlatch* 'a strap passing under the horse's throat which helps keep the bridle in position.') X (April 4, 1840), 54: "Her speed was so tremendous that notwithstanding the circumstance spoken of, she won the heat by a throatlatch, in 1:47."
- YARB. A tactic or kind of effort. (*OED*, 1845: *yarb*—dialect for *herb* 'stultiloquent yarb-monger'; 1847: "I hope he got yarbs enough to satisfy him"; 1855: "some skill in yarbs, as she called her simples.") XIV (June 22, 1844), 193: "In the fourth heat he 'tried another *yarb*!' "

VOICE AND TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS

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QUITE SOME TIME AGO I became aware of the treatment afforded verbs in college grammar textbooks, and during the last decade I have examined a copy of practically every English composition book published in the United States. The discussions of transitive and intransitive verbs and the voice of verbs have been of especial interest. Today the tendency seems to be toward treating transitive and intransitive verbs in a very limited manner, by merely defining them in a glossary of grammatical terms or by neglecting them altogether. These brief accounts are often inconsistent or confusingly contradictory.

As a specific example of the contradiction involved in different books, I quote from a book I use in a freshman composition class: "Only transitive verbs . . . can be used in the passive voice."¹ In a book I use in a class of advanced English grammar, the authors cite the sentence "A new star has been discovered" as an example of an *intransitive* verb in the passive voice!²

A historical study of verbs does not do much by way of clarification. As most students of English already know, the assumption that English grammar "can be described in terms of Latin grammar" is a faulty assumption.³ In fact, grammarians using the many different approaches to transitive and intransitive verbs can all quote Latin *transitivus* or *trans* + *ire* to suit their purposes.

It is not easy to categorize the different definitions that are used in explaining transitive and intransitive verbs in the active and passive voices, but some investigation reveals at least eight different groupings which I have arbitrarily classified below. There is a great deal of overlapping among the eight, partly because of the lack of sufficient definitions and partly because of the ambiguity involved in some of the definitions. I shall attempt to list the classifications and then to elaborate on each classification or division, giving examples. Different writers have stated the following:

- A. That a verb is transitive if it takes a direct object and intransitive if it does not take a direct object.

1. George S. Wykoff and Harry Shaw, *The Harper Handbook of College Composition* (New York, 1962), p. 586. In this and in subsequent footnotes, when more than one edition of a book has been published I cite the latest edition available to me.

2. R. W. Pence and D. W. Emery, *A Grammar of Present-Day English* (New York, 1963), p. 43.

3. Ethan Allen Cross and Elizabeth Carney, *Teaching English in High Schools* (New York, 1950), p. 70.

- B. That intransitive verbs are classified as either linking or complete.
- C. That verbs are classified as either transitive, intransitive, or linking.
- D. That transitive verbs are verbs which have a receiver of their action.
- E. That only transitive verbs have voice.
- F. That intransitive verbs have the active voice only.
- G. That a passive verb must of necessity be transitive.
- H. That a passive verb must of necessity be intransitive.

In one way or another, most of the definitions fall into the A group. A textbook by Woolley and others describes a transitive verb as one that "requires a direct object to complete its meaning."⁴ Watt, in a 1964 text, says similarly, "A *transitive verb* needs a direct object to complete its meaning."⁵ Perrin and Smith write, "A verb is *transitive* when it has an object" and "A verb is *intransitive* when it does not have an object."⁶ Much the same definitions are repeated in texts by Marckwardt and Cassidy,⁷ Jespersen,⁸ Hook and Mathews,⁹ Buckler and McAvoy,¹⁰ Manchester,¹¹ Brown (in a text almost a century old),¹² Leggett and others,¹³ Gorrell and Laird,¹⁴ Curme,¹⁵ Woods and Turner,¹⁶ House and Harman,¹⁷ Roberts,¹⁸ and Tressler (in a text designed for high schools).¹⁹

4. Edwin C. Woolley *et al.*, *College Handbook of Composition* (Boston, 1958), p. 135.

5. William W. Watt, *An American Rhetoric* (New York, 1964), p. 471.

6. Porter G. Perrin and George H. Smith, *The Perrin-Smith Handbook of Current English* (Chicago, 1962), p. 110.

7. Albert H. Marckwardt and Frederic G. Cassidy, *Scribner Handbook of English* (New York, 1960), p. 206.

8. Otto Jespersen, *Essentials of English Grammar* (New York, 1939), p. 116, and *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (Heidelberg, 1927), p. 319.

9. J. N. Hook and E. G. Mathews, *Modern American Grammar and Usage* (New York, 1956), p. 208.

10. William E. Buckler and William C. McAvoy, *American College Handbook of English Fundamentals* (New York, 1960), pp. 130-31.

11. Frederick A. Manchester, *College English Essentials: A Handbook* (New York, 1954), pp. 109-10.

12. Goold Brown, *The Grammar of English Grammars, with an Introduction Historical and Critical* (New York, 1869), p. 321.

13. Glenn Leggett *et al.*, *Prentice-Hall Handbook for Writers* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1960), p. 510.

14. Robert M. Gorrell and Charlton Laird, *Modern English Handbook* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1962), pp. 337-38.

15. George O. Curme, *Syntax* (Boston, 1931), p. 441, and *Parts of Speech and Accidence* (Boston, 1935), pp. 63 and 65.

16. George B. Woods and W. Arthur Turner, *The Odyssey Handbook and Guide to Writing* (New York, 1954), p. 27.

17. Homer C. House and Susan Emolyn Harman, *Descriptive English Grammar* (New York, 1953), p. 94.

18. Paul Roberts, *English Syntax* (New York, 1964), pp. 186-94.

19. J. C. Tressler, *English in Action* (Boston, 1950), p. 314.

Keeping in mind the definition of the A group, let us examine more carefully the H class. Pence and Emery²⁰ agree that a transitive verb has a receiver of the action and that an intransitive verb has no object. They contend, however, that the receiver of the action with transitive verbs must be a true direct object (as distinguished from a retained object or the subject of a passive verb). They further hold that all verbs are either transitive or intransitive and that "any verb that does not take a direct object is an intransitive verb."²¹ In other words, a transitive verb in the active voice can be switched to the passive voice, in which case the verb becomes intransitive.²² Because of the incomplete discussions, many of the definitions included under the A group could easily also belong to the E group by implication, but I doubt that the authors would be agreeable to the suggested possibility. For example, if we assume that verbs are either transitive or intransitive (momentarily ruling out the C classification), the Woods and Turner definition would fit both the A and the H groups. They write: "Verbs are classified as transitive or as intransitive, depending upon their use in the sentence. A transitive verb requires an object to complete its meaning; an intransitive verb does not."²³ Using this definition, the only possible G label (transitive-passive) would be with a retained object. The same thing could be said for most of the definitions of the A category. Some authors, such as Marckwardt and Cassidy, give definitions that could fall under both group A and group B (they classify intransitive verbs as "simple" or "linking") and simply imply that passive verbs would not belong to what I have called the H (intransitive-passive) group: "Verbs which by virtue of their meaning do not permit a direct object are called *intransitive*."²⁴

On the other hand, many of the writers whose definitions come under group A carefully specify why their definitions cannot fit what I have labeled as group H. Jespersen must have realized the awkward possibilities involved in defining verbs, for he chooses to speak of transitive and intransitive *uses* of verbs rather than to speak of verbs as either *transitive* or *intransitive*.²⁵ He does, though, prefer the G definition to H: he regards *was begun* in "The war was begun" as transitive-passive.²⁶ Another important grammarian of the early twentieth century defines transitive verbs as verbs requiring direct objects (A), defines voice as "different ways of expressing the relation between a transitive verb and its subject and object" (E), and lists *was seen* in "He was seen" as a transitive-passive verb.²⁷

Gorrell and Laird, in a widely used college textbook, define *transitive* and *intransitive* according to the A grouping and never come to grips with the

20. See n. 2.

21. Pence and Emery, p. 42.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

23. Woods and Turner, p. 27.

24. Marckwardt and Cassidy, p. 206.

25. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, p. 319.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 350.

27. Henry Sweet, *A New English Grammar, Logical and Historical* (Oxford, 1900), p. 112.

problem of G versus H. Perhaps they feel no need for discussion, since they group verbs as transitive, intransitive, and linking (C).²⁸ Hook and Mathews explain that "When a verb takes an object, it is said to be *transitive*" (A), but they further maintain that the 'go across' of *transire* pertains to passive-voice sentences. They explain that *was solved* in "The puzzle was solved by me" is transitive-passive (G) "because the word *puzzle* still receives the action, even though it is now the subject of the sentence" (D).²⁹ House and Harman likewise explain that *was lifted* in "The hammer was lifted by him" is transitive-passive (G), since *hammer* receives the action and "every transitive verb requires a receiver for the action which it expresses" (D).³⁰ Curme uses the typical definitions of group A for transitive and intransitive verbs,³¹ but in one place declares, "Only transitives can form a passive" (E [and H?]).³² There is a question here, for Pence and Emery would no doubt argue that the changing of the active-transitive construction causes the construction to become passive-intransitive.

The biggest conflict seems to be between the G and H classes. The above discussion of the overlapping of the A group has in one way or another referred to the other classes, but each of them deserves further comment. Marckwardt and Cassidy have been mentioned as belonging to the B group because they classify verbs as transitive or intransitive and subdivide the intransitive verbs into "simple" or "linking" types.³³ From conversations with students who have recently been graduated from high school, I gather that most high school texts and teachers prefer definitions that fall under the C group—that intransitive verbs are either "intransitive complete" or "intransitive linking."

The C classification, adhered to by several prominent grammarians today, might have had its beginning with Brown's famous *The Grammar of English Grammars*, in which he divides verbs into four classes: active-transitive, active-intransitive, passive, and neuter.³⁴ Very recent college books by Gorrell and Laird³⁵ and by McCrimmon³⁶ state that verbs are classified as *transitive*, *intransitive*, or *linking*. Francis also agrees that verbs belong to these three main groups.³⁷

As was made apparent early in this study, group D is closely connected with groups G and H. But clearly stating that a transitive verb is a verb which has a receiver of its action most assuredly makes the term *transitive-passive* more meaningful and perhaps more plausible than the simple A definitions—that a

28. Gorrell and Laird, pp. 337-38.

29. Hook and Mathews, p. 208.

30. House and Harman, p. 94.

31. Curme, *Parts of Speech and Accidence*, pp. 63 and 65.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

33. Marckwardt and Cassidy, p. 206.

34. Brown, p. 321.

35. Gorrell and Laird, p. 337.

36. James M. McCrimmon, *Writing with a Purpose* (New York, 1963), p. 398.

37. W. Nelson Francis, *The Structure of American English* (New York, 1958), p. 344.

transitive verb takes a direct object. Hook and Mathews³⁸ and House and Harman³⁹ have already been mentioned in this regard. In addition, Corder and Kendall assert that "The transitive verb takes an object (or *receiver of the action*)."⁴⁰ Tressler⁴¹ and Bailey and others,⁴² in two popular high school texts, are in agreement. Perhaps Walsh and Walsh in a familiar handbook explain the D class best: "The transitive verb has a receiver of the action to complete its meaning. When the actor is the subject, the receiver of the action is the object and the verb is in the active voice. . . . When the receiver of the action is the subject, the verb is in the passive voice. . . ."⁴³

If it is true that only transitive verbs have voice (E), then the G-H argument is not an argument at all, for all passive verbs are naturally transitive. Curme remarks that "Only transitives can form a passive";⁴⁴ Francis declares that intransitive verbs "have no passive forms";⁴⁵ Corder and Kendall insist that the true intransitive verb "*cannot take the passive form*";⁴⁶ Shaffer and Shaw imply that only transitive verbs are "classified as to *voice*";⁴⁷ Watkins and Martin state that "A transitive verb is in the active or the passive voice";⁴⁸ Albaugh continues that "Only transitive verbs, those verbs that are capable of taking direct objects, may be inflected for voice";⁴⁹ and Bailey and others express the views of all of the E-category grammarians, that "Transitive verbs are in either the active or the passive voice" and that "Voice is that form of a transitive verb that shows whether the subject is acting or is being acted upon."⁵⁰

It goes without saying that all of the E-category definitions also fit the G classification, that a passive verb must of necessity be transitive. A few grammarians, however, whose definitions also fit the G grouping, give definitions that cause a need for another division. Those who belong to this category (F) contend that intransitive verbs do have voice, but that they have the active voice only. Kittredge and Farley in an effective advanced grammar textbook

38. Hook and Mathews, p. 208.

39. House and Harman, p. 94.

40. Jim W. Corder and Lyle H. Kendall, Jr., *A College Rhetoric* (New York, 1962), p. 344.

41. Tressler, p. 314.

42. Matilda Bailey *et al.*, *Our English Language* (New York, 1957), p. 191.

43. J. Martyn Walsh and Anna Kathleen Walsh, *Plain English Handbook: A Complete Guide to Good English* (Wichita, Kansas, 1959), p. 28.

44. Curme, *Parts of Speech and Accidence*, p. 217.

45. Francis, p. 344.

46. Corder and Kendall, p. 344.

47. Virginia Shaffer and Harry Shaw, *McGraw-Hill Handbook of English* (New York, 1960), p. 12.

48. Floyd C. Watkins and Edwin T. Martin, *Practical English Handbook* (Boston, 1961), p. 46.

49. Ralph M. Albaugh, *English: A Dictionary of Grammar and Structure* (San Francisco, 1964), p. 227.

50. Bailey *et al.*, p. 192.

of 1913 promulgated the theory: "Intransitive verbs are ordinarily used in the active voice only";⁵¹ Hodges and Whitten⁵² and Albaugh have expressed the same views in recent books. Albaugh, with what might be interpreted as a contradiction to his earlier statement, suggests that "one might consider [intransitive verbs] as having active voice only."⁵³

The G group, then, needs perhaps very little by way of further discussion. With the exception of the writers who use the term *intransitive-passive*,⁵⁴ I suspect that all of the authors mentioned thus far, even those whose definitions fit only the vague class A, would also fit the G class. A few specific examples of sentences may be helpful: Jespersen argues that the verbs of "The war was begun" and "My hat was blown off" are transitive-passive;⁵⁵ Francis uses "The car was sold by the man" as an example of the transitive-passive;⁵⁶ and Watkins and Martin give "A good race was run by Joe" as their example.⁵⁷

How, then, can there be an H category, and what grammarians might belong in this somewhat unusual class? The grammarians who belong are few, but their answer would certainly be a legitimate one—that "it's all a matter of definition." They interpret *transire* to mean that action literally passes over from a subject to a direct object, and they insist that a true direct object—not a retained object or the subject of a passive verb—must actually be expressed in a sentence before the verb can be termed *transitive*. They consistently maintain that all verbs are either transitive or passive and that all verbs have voice; therefore, according to their definition, all passive verbs would of necessity be intransitive. Admittedly, their tribes are small. Foerster and Steadman explain that "A verb in the passive voice is transitive only if it has a *retained object*."⁵⁸ They do not elaborate, but their definition, if we can assume that all verbs are transitive or intransitive, would seem to allow the treatment of *was given* in "He was given a gift" as intransitive-passive. It seems that Pence is the inaugurator of the H grouping. In his *College Composition* of 1929 he offers only the following statement about transitive and intransitive verbs, with no remarks about the use of voice with them: "All verbs are either transitive or intransitive. A verb is transitive if it may take an object; it is intransitive if it cannot take an object."⁵⁹ He makes plain his idea, though, in his 1947 publica-

51. George Lyman Kittredge and Frank Edgar Farley, *An Advanced English Grammar* (Boston, 1913), p. 111.

52. John C. Hodges and Mary E. Whitten, *Harbrace College Handbook* (New York, 1962), p. 471.

53. Albaugh, p. 227.

54. See second paragraph and n. 2 of this study.

55. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, p. 350.

56. Francis, p. 345.

57. Watkins and Martin, p. 46.

58. Norman Foerster and J. M. Steadman, Jr., *Writing and Thinking* (Boston, 1952), p. 157.

59. R. W. Pence, *College Composition* (New York, 1929), p. 275.

tion, *A Grammar of Present-Day English*, in which he says, "In the light of our definitions it is evident that any verb in the passive voice is by that fact an intransitive verb, for a verb in the passive voice cannot take a direct object."⁶⁰ In 1956 Pence and Bergmann co-authored *Writing Craftsmanship*, and Bergmann seems to have accepted Pence's earlier definition, for they assert that "Any verb that designates an action as passing over from a grammatical subject to a grammatical object is a transitive verb. Only verbs in the active voice can, obviously, be transitive verbs; for only a verb in the active voice can take a direct object."⁶¹ They continue as follows: "Any verb that does not represent an action as passing over to a grammatical object is an intransitive verb. All verbs in the passive voice are, obviously, intransitive verbs; for no verb in the passive voice can take a direct object."⁶² When Emery revised Pence's *A Grammar of Present-Day English* in 1963, he left the discussions of transitive and intransitive verbs and voice unchanged.⁶³ But, after all, Emery had actually joined Pence in the G group two years earlier: in a pamphlet entitled *Sentence Analysis*, he termed *was promised* in "He was promised a new job" an intransitive-passive verb.⁶⁴

I conclude that discussions of verbs in modern textbooks should not be as incomplete or as ambiguous as this study has shown them to be. A writer needs simply to recognize the desirability of clearly defining transitive and intransitive verbs, combining a discussion of voice with them, and sticking with his definitions. A student who does not grasp the meaning of verbs is seriously handicapped in his understanding of grammar, and sometimes teachers who have unsatisfactory explanations of transitive and intransitive verbs and the voices of verbs are of little help. There may be a great deal to be said for the logic and simplicity of the G classification.

60. R. W. Pence, *A Grammar of Present-Day English* (New York, 1947), p. 36.

61. R. W. Pence and Fred L. Bergmann, *Writing Craftsmanship* (New York, 1956), p. 529.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 530.

63. Pence and Emery, pp. 42-43 and 247-48.

64. Donald W. Emery, *Sentence Analysis* (New York, 1961), p. 35.

NOTES ON CAMPUS VOCABULARY, 1964

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IN THIS ARTICLE we will explore a few current campus words in some detail. Many of them have been previously recorded in *American Speech* and in the *American Thesaurus of Slang* (hereafter cited as *ATS*). Many of them, too, belong to the shared vocabulary of the campus and the outside world. Although objections have been made to labeling this shared vocabulary as campus slang, it seems to us that any slang word, no matter how widespread, may acquire special configurations of meaning on a campus and that even if it does not, nothing is lost by the recording process.¹

Many of the terms we discuss are familiar, then, but they have in some cases acquired new meanings and lost old ones. Often their meanings have been broadened and occasionally the connotation has been reversed, as when a hitherto derogatory word takes on a more favorable meaning. We hope that this discussion will be a kind of methodological addendum to the studies cited in footnote 1.

BIRD DOG, *v.* Dundes and Schonhorn have recently suggested two definitions for this term: 'to take one's partner from [one] in the middle of a dance' and 'to break up a campus romance.'² We suspect, however, that 'to cut in' may be more common in the first instance, and the second implies a finality not present in our experience of the word. *To bird dog* is *to hustle* another man's date; the object is *to score*, which, like *to make*, is susceptible of a wide range of meanings. In campus speech, *hustler* may derive more immediately from the notion of *hustling* in sports (a perfectly acceptable colloquialism in high school and among sports announcers and writers) than from its underworld meanings.

BITCHIN', *adj.* This word has been common in the last few years. Used occasionally by people who are college graduates, it may occur most frequently in late high school and college. It can serve both as an interjection (*bitchin'*, man! = 'Great!') and as an adjective. Anything good can be *bitchin'*—a car, a ball game, a record, a hand of bridge. Employed in our observation between 1956 and 1960, it may require checking in terms of present-day usage. It has been asked whether or not slang terms change meaning between high school and college and what changes may occur in frequency of usage;³ a related problem here is the degree to which slang vocabulary picked up in college continues to play an active role in the speaker's idiolect after graduation.

1. Contributors to *American Speech* have registered an increasing impatience with haphazard recording practices. See Alan Dundes and Manuel R. Schonhorn, "Kansas University Slang: A New Generation," *American Speech*, XXXVIII (1963), 163-77; Lawrence Poston, III, "Some Problems in the Study of Campus Slang," *American Speech*, XXXIX (1964), 114-23; and Henry Kratz, "What Is College Slang?" *American Speech*, XXXIX (1964), 188-95. Kratz complains with some justice that studies of college slang have not sufficiently distinguished between college speech and the general American slang spoken by college students.

2. Dundes and Schonhorn, pp. 170-71.

3. Poston, pp. 115-17.

FAT CITY, *n.* The origin of this term continues to puzzle us. It may be of Negro origin.

It is not, contrary to an earlier opinion, limited to Chicago;⁴ on the West Coast, it can be extended beyond the taboo meaning: "You're in *fat city*" = "You've got it made."

FLASH, *v.* To vomit. This has been recorded by Lalia Phipps Boone.⁵ The term has persisted in the five years since her study of University of Florida slang was published, although it is probably not as common as *barf*. Curiously, it may derive from the earlier uses listed in the *OED*, where *flash* expresses the movement of a liquid. The citations date from 1387 to the mid-nineteenth century; for example, Tennyson speaks of "the cataract flashing from the bridge,/The breaker breaking on the beach" (*In Memoriam*, section LXXI). The transitive verb form is defined in the *OED* as 'to dash or splash (water) *about*, abroad upon something,' and *flash flood* is clearly a relative here.

GAS, *n.* This is a slang term of long standing which has never been properly recorded in its variant uses. The *OED* records it as meaning 'to deceive or impose upon by talking "gas"' (from Hall's *College Words* [1849]) or 'to indulge in "gas" or empty talk; to vapour, to talk idly or boastfully' (from a British journal of 1875). But *to take gas*, though it may mean being an unfortunate listener in the presence of a windbag, may also mean 'to do poorly on an examination.' Furthermore, a course can be described as a *gas*, and this may mean that it was highly amusing or, in some cases, that it was easy. A notation of different student responses here would be helpful.

HAIR, *n.* A number of uses for this word and its variations occur in slang speech. In the 1952 edition of the *ATS*, Berrey and Van den Bark define the adjective *hair* as 'poor, mean, contemptible' (30.4) and 'unsatisfactory, displeasing' (848.7); one of us recalls it in this sense from high school in Utah in the middle 1950s, but not since. By one of those inexplicable reversals of meaning so common in slang, the word has come to have approving rather than derogatory overtones. An athlete may be said to have *a lot of hair* or *show a lot of hair* if he plays aggressively and well in a game. A student criticizing his professor's pet thesis may also *show a lot of hair*. The phrase *no hair* thus connotes a lack of masculinity or guts; one may hear it at a football game where the home team is not showing enough "hustle."

JOCK, *n.* This term has been euphemized to an extraordinary degree. The uses cited in the *ATS* are chiefly taboo; one, physiological, is the parent of *jock-strap* (121.39)⁶; the other is the term in use among vagrants (460.28). More recent generations of college students seem to take less cognizance of the taboo meanings. *Jock*, by extension, has become a common word for 'athlete,' and *jock talk* is the language of athletes. In a freshman theme written at the University of Nebraska in 1964, both male and female students used the term without any evident embarrassment. In the vocabulary of some of the girls, a *jock* was someone desirable on a date because of his masculinity, but either boys or girls may also refer to a *jock* derogatorily as a brawny but dumb male student.⁷

PITS, *n.* This is a slang abbreviation of the term *armpits*, again with an extension of meaning

4. Poston, p. 119.

5. Lalia Phipps Boone, "Gator (University of Florida) Slang," *American Speech*, XXXIV (1959), 156. Dundes and Schonhorn list the noun form as meaning 'a good idea or sudden inspiration' (p. 174).

6. We suspect that Dundes and Schonhorn have reversed what actually took place; *jock-strap* probably derives from *jock* rather than vice versa. Cf. Edgar V. Roberts, "More About 'Joke,'" *American Speech*, XXXVIII (1963), 151.

7. We are indebted to Robert L. Chapman for pointing out that another area of research in campus slang might involve "the extent to which the taboo vocabulary is both a *lingua franca* and a secret speech of males. Corollary questions would be: Is there an analogous speech among females? Is there a segment of the taboo vocabulary shared freely with females?" (letter of September 16, 1964). One might also ask if terms become euphemized in the process of forming a *lingua franca* shared by the sexes.

to entail the idea of body odor ("He's got the pits") or, more broadly, something unpleasant ("It [the party] was really the pits").

R.F. [short for RAT FUCK], *n.*, *v.* Between 1956 and 1960 at least, this was a widely used slang term at Stanford; whether or not its frequency is increasing is uncertain. It is seldom used except in abbreviatory coinage (*R.F.*). An *R.F.* is a practical joke, dormitory style, like "short-sheeting" or throwing a bed in the shower; but this, although the more specialized and perhaps earlier meaning, has been broadened in its use. To some undergraduates, it connotes anything unacceptable to the Establishment, whether malicious damage to property or drinking on campus. It frequently appears painted on walls in public places, and prior to the 1963 California-Stanford game it was burned into the grass at the Stanford stadium. *To R.F.*, however, may mean also simply having a good time, or perhaps doing something that has no particular purpose. (A sample interchange: "What were you doing?" "Just out *R.F.-ing*"). This term may be achieving some measure of respectability. Some girls will use it in mixed company, although its use tends to diminish among both sexes as the speakers get older. It is possible that the term popularized through Steve Allen's television program, *rat fink*, is a euphemism, although this more probably derives from a crossing of *R.F.* with the well-known term *fink*, from labor union talk.

SKINNY, *n.* Attested in the *ATS* (904.2) and the *DAS*, this word has in the past (especially in Naval Academy slang) meant a course or class in physics or chemistry. It may also be synonymous with *poop*: "What's the skinny on that French class?"

WIMP, *n.* It has been previously suggested that this indefinable sort of person is known only to West Coast students.⁸ We suspect that the term may be going out of style, but in any case the theory of geographical limitation is pretty well exploded. One respondent defines it as someone who is offensive in a negative, passive, wishy-washy manner.⁹ A relevant piece of information previously overlooked by Poston is brought forward by C. Merton Babcock, who points to an adjectival form in Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith*: "wimpish little men with spectacles." Babcock suggests that the term means 'wimpled (wrinkled), or effeminate.'¹⁰ In general, certainly, it has "Casper Milquetoast" overtones.

ZOT, *n.* Zero, nothing: "He didn't get *zot* on that exam." This word is synonymous with *squat*, used in the same position in the sentence.

8. Poston, p. 119.

9. Letter of Miss Edith Jean Cooper, Lincoln, Nebraska, October 21, 1964.

10. C. Merton Babcock, "Americanisms in the Novels of Sinclair Lewis," *American Speech*, XXXV (1960), 115.

GLEANINGS FROM JOHN BAXTER'S JOURNALS, 1790–1826

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JOHN BAXTER WAS BORN IN 1765 in Armagh, County Tyrone, Ireland. Of his boyhood nothing is known. From his twenty-fifth year until his death at the age of 61 he resided in the Town of Flatlands, Kings County (coterminous with Brooklyn), New York. Throughout this entire period he kept a detailed account of his tumultuous existence. He was an inveterate diarist, and for thirty-six years he made almost daily entries in his journal, which runs to five ample volumes.

Students of local history owe Baxter much. He left what is perhaps the finest record of that corner of the New World which so freely accepted him and whose chronicler he became.¹ He noticed everything—from so trifling an event as the unloading of dung from a pettiauger to the visit of President Jefferson to speak at an Independence Day celebration. He remarks with amazement the coming of the seventeen-year locust. With palpable joy he tells of a fine harvest of cabbages or pumpkins that will fetch him a premium price at market. With gusto he describes the “fine fat quail” he devoured at supper or the camaraderie of an evening at the local tavern. He exhibits a wistful humor when he concludes his entry on receiving an occasional visitor from Ireland with a terse “loaned another £5.” In the summer he complains of parching heat and in the winter of perishing snows. Births and marriages, deaths and epidemics, crops and harvests, remedies, gaming—for everything he penned a line or two. Each entry is a cameo of diurnal existence in a small town, the totality being a rich and crowded panoply of rural America a century and a half ago. At his death in 1826 his son, Garrett, continued the journal. But the younger Baxter lacked the elder’s catholicity of interest and was unable to involve himself in the life of his community to the extent that his father had. The contributions of Garrett to the splendid work he had inherited became, before long, little more than bookkeeping accounts of the large Baxter properties.

Flatlands, the first white settlement on Long Island, was a thriving township of wooded thickets, fresh-water streams, and winding roads at whose numerous interstices were situated the clean, roomy, sloping-gabled houses of well-to-do farmers. The community was largely Dutch in its ways and manners,

1. The unpublished manuscript of John Baxter’s journals is privately owned by a descendant. The typewritten transcript which was used in the preparation of this article was prepared and is owned by the Library of the Long Island Historical Society.

and most of its inhabitants were lineal descendants of the Netherlanders who had settled the area in 1636. Here came John Baxter in 1790 to assume the duties of a master at the Erasmus Hall Academy founded three years before in the neighboring township, Flatbush, to allay the county's "inconvenience for want of a Public School . . . in which the English, Latin, and Greek, with other branches of learning usual in academies, are taught. . . ."² The civic-minded of Kings County, led by Dr. John B. Livingston and Senator John Vanderbilt, subscribed the handsome sum of £915 for the purchase of land and the construction of a building. The academy was named in honor of Desiderius Erasmus, the great Dutch scholar who had brought the New Learning to England in the reign of Henry VIII. The original, handsome colonial structure stands today, surrounded by its Gothic-style additions of nineteenth-century provenance, in the heart of Brooklyn. In 1896 it was transferred as a gift of its trustees to the City of Brooklyn, and in 1898, at the time of municipal consolidation, it passed to the New York City public school system. In Baxter's time Erasmus Hall drew young scholars not only from neighboring towns but from great distances. In a list of students for 1787 are found two from the West Indies and one from Pennsylvania. Lists for succeeding years include boys from Virginia, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Maryland; from Jamaica, the island of St. Thomas, the island of Granada, and the island of Tortola; from St. Croix, France; from Portugal; and even from Yucatan.³

It is not known what subjects Baxter taught, but he certainly knew Greek and Latin and was familiar with European literature. The most singular fact of his career as a pedagogue is its brevity. In 1794 he married a daughter of the wealthy Stoothoff family and shortly thereafter resigned from the academy to work a large piece of rich land presented to him by his father-in-law. It was as an ever-prospering farmer that Baxter lived out his life. He seems to have turned away from scholarship with little regret. It is surprising that he scarcely mentions Erasmus Hall or, indeed, education in any of its facets except for an occasional allusion to his reluctant membership in the local school board and his opposition to the raising of the schoolmaster's salary. Schoolmasters, he seemed to feel, always set themselves at too high a price.

More annoying than surprising is Baxter's complete indifference to the linguistic situation about him. In the community in which he resided, only some of the Dutchmen were bilingual; their children he instructed in the English language, and their English governors had neither succeeded nor scarcely attempted to Anglicize them. Baxter spoke with an Irish accent. So singular

2. Willis Boughton, *Chronicles of Erasmus Hall High School* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1906), p. 30.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

and provocative was his linguistic environment that it seems impossible for him to have resisted setting down his reactions. But on the subject of language, as in virtually nothing else, John Baxter remains silent.

Of the words and phrases listed below, some are patently derived from Dutch, such as *canoet*, *span in*, and so on. Others are distinctly English, such as *cornsnipe*, *drabbett*, and so on. Still others have the ring of Americanisms: *gin sling*, *funning*, and so on. Some, regrettably, occur in nondefinitive citations and are simply mystifying: *blog*, *crackle*, and so on. To what extent there may be Irishisms on the list is impossible to say. This, at least, is certain: they were set down by one who felt himself, in every sense, an American.

Each citation below is given in full with its exact date of entry. Some items on the present list represent earlier citations than those given elsewhere. In such cases, appropriate reference is made to the antedated source. The *Oxford English Dictionary* is hereafter designated *OED*, the *Dictionary of American English* is *DAE*, the *Dictionary of Americanisms* is *DA*, and Merriam-Webster's *Third New International Dictionary* is *NID* 3.

BAMBOOZLE, *v.* To make pregnant. *OED* 'to cheat, swindle,' 1703. "Heard that D. Stoothoffs wench got bamboozled by his Negro Sam an old Married Ethiopian." January 30, 1807.

BLOG, *n.* Meaning uncertain. "Sent Jack to Corns. Stoothoff to see about my dog he has a blog about his neck." November 19, 1815.

BOMASETT, *adj.* Plain or twill-woven worsted cloth with a smooth finish. *NID* 3, *bombazet*. "Went to York to bring up Jersey people Bot a Bomasett Jacket at FlatBush of R. Fish as black as a Thunder Gust." June 6, 1810.

CANOOT, *n.* From Dutch *kanoet*, 'a species of sandpiper.' "Went out gunning with Garrett A. Wykoff to the Hugithe had 12 canoots." September 2, 1805.

CASSEMERE, *adj.* Soft fabric of Cashmere goat's cloth. *OED*, *cashmere*, 1822. "Went to York Garrett along Bot him cloth for Pantaloons at 26/ per yd Cassemere." November 24, 1813.

CHIN COUGH, *n. cpd.* Whooping cough. "Met in town with the Militia officers about the orders of training our Blacks. have the Chin cough." September 2, 1796.

CLOVER HAY, *n. cpd.* Clover grass. "Got in my Clover Hay 12 loads." June 30, 1796.

CONOVER, *n.* Perhaps *coney*. ". . . got home our Logs now the snows goes fast had a Conover for Dinner John Lotts Junr. here in the afternoon to Smoak." March 1, 1819.

CORNSNIPE, *n.* A bird that ravages cornfields. "Helpd with stalks and bottoms shot Cornsnipes plenty while Debey was in Jersey." August 29, 1790.

CRACKLE, *n.* Meaning uncertain. "Swingled Flax Garrett began to make a new Cracklc." February 21, 1818.

DOVERTY, *n.* Dove (?). Perhaps an alteration of Dutch *duifje*, diminutive of *duif* 'dove.' "Went to the city Tavern where I shot five Doverities at a shot then tryd for fish at the Slops." July 31, 1790.

DRABBETT, *adj.* A drab twilled lincn. *OED* 1851. ". . . Bot Jack a piece of Bleu Cloth for a Coat 3½ yds at 3/6 & myself a pair of Trowsers called Drabbett." February 16, 1819.

EVERGREEN, *n.* Perhaps a suit of green cloth. "St. Patricks Day a number of the Academy Boys came to see me all dressed in Evergreens treated them well." March 17, 1793.

FULLEN CLOTH, *n. cpd.* Cloth cleansed and treated by fulling. *OED*, *fulling*, 1688. "Went to Judge Lotts with a fullen Cloth making a gleaning Rake." October 31, 1794.

- FUNNING, *part.* Probably teasing or bantering (a person). "R. Voorhees & I went a funning Albert Neefus from Jersey being here." November 15, 1793.
- GALE BURSTER, *n. cpd.* Perhaps a heavy wind accompanied by rain. "Gon done breaking Flax have nearly 14 hundred handfulls fine and warm. Weather take good care of a Gale Burster." January 8, 1818.
- GIN SLING, *n. cpd.* A beverage consisting chiefly of sweetened gin. *DA* 1800. "Went to Luke Kouwenhoven went to York was in the house Assembly Seen Pcter Vandervoort drank a gin sling with him at fat Simmon's." February 19, 1790.
- GLEANING RAKE, *n. cpd.* An implement used by reapers to gather left over ears of corn. "Went to Judge Lotts with a fullen Cloth making a gleaning Rake." October 31, 1794.
- GREEN GRAIN, *n. cpd.* Perhaps *green corn*, but more probably some other grain in the unripe stage. "Went to Lawyer Cosine about the Green Grain on the farm on the Hook." March 2, 1795.
- LEAD COOT, *n. cpd.* A slaty-black bird. *DA*, *leadback*, 1917. *OED*, *coot*, 1547. "Went a gunning with H. Sloven had 12 Lead Coots & Shell Drakes." March 31, 1802.
- LIGHT IN THE HEAD, *adj. phrase.* Dizzy, giddy, delirious. "Debey sick with falling in the Rollavly Altie light in the head Mother also sick all sick Miserable Times." December 18, 1793.
- LOCAR TREE, *n. cpd.* Perhaps a scribal error for *locust*. "Went up to Flatlands at Evening came up a Shower I was near a where it struck a Locar Tree by H. Okies." August 3, 1805.
- LOGGERHEAD, *n.* Meaning uncertain. *OED* 'turtle,' 1657; 'bird,' 1657; 'plant,' 1829. "Mended the fence between the East division of the Neck Woods & Dominicus Van Der Veer Peter G. Wykoff found a large loggerhead treatd for it." May 16, 1807.
- MERSAIL, *adj.* Stiff cotton fabric. *OED*, *marseilles*, 1762. "Sarah Stoothoff made me a mersail waistcoat & yellow Pantaloons." September 22, 1804.
- MILK BENCH, *n. cpd.* A bench for milking. "Pcter G. Wykoff making a Milk Bench for me in our Cellar." January 19, 1797.
- OAST WALL, *n. cpd.* Possibly English *oast* 'kiln,' or, more likely, Dutch *oost* 'east.' "Had 20 buckets at the Oast wall." March 4, 1791.
- PAMPION SEEDS, *n. cpd.* Probably *pumpkin seeds*. *OED*, *pompion*, *pumpion*, 1545. "Planted W: Mellen & Pampion Seeds in my corn." June 1, 1802.
- PELICAN CLAM, *n. cpd.* A species of clam. ". . . Gone again for Pelican clambs found a Drown man." July 11, 1817.
- PISS CLAM, *n. cpd.* A species of clam. "Went for piss Clambs found a black fish T. Vorhees in Co." February 26, 1811.
- PLAY THE DEVIL, *v. tr.* To make mischief. (Eric Partridge, *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*: "coll. from ca. 1810") "Sam Harris & Old Garrett Wykoff played the d . . . l among drums." August 10, 1793.
- PLOVER, *v.* To hunt plover. *OED* sb., 14th c. "Went a plovering with Henry Dauson all over the fields." August 9, 1794.
- POGGIN, *n.* Perhaps *pogy* or *porgy*, the spadefish or moonfish. *DAE*, *pogy*, 1858. "This summer we have plenty Poggins in the Bay & fine fish they are Be it remembered if ever there comes Poggins again in this Bay I will try & get some." June 29, 1795.
- SCHORCHED, *p. part.* Meaning uncertain. "Now we have a very cold spell to day Simon Voris has my mare to go to York & he will be Schorched with the cold." January 16, 1806.
- SPAN IN, *v. phr.* To match animals for pulling in harness. *DAE* 1828. "I and John Schenck spaned in together." February 2, 1793.
- SPINNING FROLIC, *n. cpd.* A gathering of women for the purpose of spinning. *DAE* 1845. "Dominie Schoonmaker has a spinning Frolic." March 1, 1792.
- STONE FROLIC, *n. cpd.* A gathering of neighbors for removing of stones from a piece of land. *DA*, *stone bee*, 1829. "Dewey Stoothoff's stone frolic." April 2, 1798.
- TARING FROLIC, *n. cpd.* A gathering together of persons to remove tares (weeds) from a piece of land. "Helpd Simon Voris to ride his Winter wood had a taring frolic." November 29, 1795.

- THUNDER GUST, *n. cpd.* A wind storm, whirlwind or sudden violent blast of wind. "Went to York to bring up Jersey people Bot a Bomasett Jacket at FlatBush of R. Fish as black as a Thunder Gust." June 6, 1810.
- TIMOTHY HAY, *n. cpd.* Timothy grass. "Got 114lb. of Timothy Hay. from John J. Stoothoff at 7/." April 24, 1807.
- TOGGIN, *n.* A species of fish. "Went afishing with Jacob Vorhees & his blacks had a great many Toggins a fine fat little fish." September 15, 1793.
- UPSET, *v.* To overturn something. *OED* 1799 "A. Wyckoff Peter Voorhees & myself went a gunning I upset the skiff got well soaked lost Gun shot bag." November 11, 1793.
- WAYMASTER, *n.* Possibly a combination of Dutch *weg* 'road' and English *master*. Apparently a person who has responsibility for some aspect of the care of roads. "Working on the shell road John P. Lott and myself Waymasters." June 13, 1801.
- WEAKFISH, *n.* A bony fish inhabiting United States coastal waters. *DA. weakfish*, 1796. "Went a fishing in Co. with R. Van Hooten, Dick Van Hooten & H. Okie. had 350 weekfish." June 21, 1791.
- WINTER APPLES, *n. cpd.* A late ripening apple that keeps well in winter. "Taking in Winter Apples." October 13, 1802.
- WOOD FROLIC, *n. cpd.* An assemblage of neighbors gathered to cut wood for one of their number. *DA* 1889. "S. Vorhees had a wood frolic." December 6, 1792.

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

HANS KURATH ON ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION

HANS KURATH is probably the most distinguished student of the English language in the United States today, known wherever English is spoken for his work on the *Middle English Dictionary* and the Linguistic Atlas, and the respected teacher of a generation of competent pupils. One would like to be able to say, then, that his *Phonology and Prosody of Modern English*¹ is the splendid book that might have been expected from such a scholar, and happily one can say with full conviction that the book will be useful—useful enough so that everyone with an interest in its subject will have to read it and ought to own it; but readers will find it puzzling in some respects and unsatisfactory in others. Perhaps that is only to say that the best scholars will never give full satisfaction with anything less than their best work.

As its title suggests, *A Phonology and Prosody* is divided into two main parts, the first and larger having its own subdivisions, "The Phonemic System" and "The Phonemes." The discussion of the phonemic system deals with the subsystem of the consonants and the subsystem of the vowels, with phonotactics, morphophonemics, homophony, and graphemics. Among the individual phonemes, /č/, /ǵ/, and /ŋ/ are treated as units, /h/ as a fricative, /r/ as a lateral; while what might appear in other analyses either as /r/ or as a Trageretic /h/ is for Kurath the semivowel /ə/ as in "r-less" *dear*, *dare*, and *door*. Vowels are classified as checked (there are eight of those) and free, one of the eleven free vowels being the regularly unstressed /ə/ as in r-less *father* or in *Martha*. All the vowels, "whether short, prolonged, or diphthongal, are treated as phonemic units" (p. 6). The section "Prosody" deals with intonation, stress, "cues to word and morpheme boundaries," and syllabification.

Though one must not ask for exhaustive detail in a book of only 158 pages, Kurath loads his outline with various information. Under each phoneme, for example, he discusses its articulation, its distribution, regional differences in its distribution and incidence, its alternation with other phonemes, homophones in which it is involved, its history, and its spelling. Kurath is quite independent, too, acknowledging the debt which everyone owes to "such Neo-Bloomfieldians" as Bloch, Hockett, and Trager, but recognizing no "phoneme of open juncture," denying phonemic status to "pitch levels and degrees of stress," and quietly reiterating his opposition to the system of nine vowels and three semivowels which for a dozen years was orthodox among American linguists. His arguments and his example have certainly had a good deal to do with the de-

1. *A Phonology and Prosody of Modern English*. By Hans Kurath. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964. 158 pp.

cline of the nine-by-three analysis, and veterans and novices alike are in his debt for helping to re-create an atmosphere in which investigation and debate can proceed without being smothered by the zeal for harmony.

Not even Kurath's authority, however, and acknowledged achievement will silence every doubt that a moderately attentive student may entertain concerning *A Phonology and Prosody*. To be sure, some of the obvious criticisms are relatively minor. Careful printing of technical works in English cannot always be expected on the Continent today; it may be inevitable that a linguistic historian should give a strongly historical cast to his description of morpho-phonemic alternation (*gadfly*—*goad*, *garfish*—*gore*, and the like); and most admirers of a senior scholar will be prepared to make liberal allowance for an occasional carelessness in phraseology. I am thinking, for instance, of sentences such as "Initial /z/ in the archaic exclamation *zounds!* is reduced from *His wounds*" (p. 60), or of the statement (p. 42) that in *valet* "the *t* has always been silent," though [vælit] is perfectly familiar and the pronunciation of the /t/ "has been English for at least 400 years" (Kenyon and Knott).

Other criticisms, I am afraid, may refuse to be so buried in respectful silence. Some factual statements in *A Phonology and Prosody*, it seems to me, raise questions either of the adequacy of the Atlas records or of the possibility of briefly summarizing them, and these doubts are strengthened by obscurities in theory which leave the reader puzzled over such important matters as Kurath's treatment of the vowels before /r/. After thinking about it, I have decided that there is no point in suppressing such feelings, and perhaps some value in stating them publicly, so that they may be examined—and dismissed if they are unjustified. Uncritical adulation would be the greater offense.

As instances of questionable statement, the following may be submitted:

1. "Free /iu/" occurs "only in New England" and as a relic "in the New England settlements to the west" (p. 21); but the "only" is mistaken, since a good many Southern speakers (and perhaps others) have /iu/ in words like *dew*, *due*, *student*, *Tuesday*, and *tune*, with no possibility of New England influence.

2. Since most Americans outside of New England have /æ/ and not the British "broad *a*" in words like *staff*, *bath*, *fast*, *aunt*, and *dance*, "it seems probable that AE usage is in this respect based upon regional dialects of England in which /æ/ had no striking allophones" (p. 23); but this is to ignore the fact that in these words Southerners commonly have upglides to [ɛ] or [ɪ], which may be taken as manifestations of tenseness and which do not commonly occur in such words as *tap*, *hat*, *cab*, and *have*.

3. From the fact that /r/ generally lowered and centralized "the articulation of the vowel preceding it," Kurath infers "that postvocalic /r/ was velarized"

(p. 27); but the inference is certainly not applicable universally, since old-fashioned Southerners frequently have a palatal glide in words like *bird*, *porch*, *scorch*, and *harsh*, and in some Seaboard talk the /r/ that remains there is itself palatal.

4. "In other coastal dialects of America" than "the dialect of Metropolitan New York," the semivowel /ə/ does not occur "before intervocalic /r/, as in *dearest*, *dreary*, *fairest*, . . . *pouring*, . . . *poorest*, *boorish*" (pp. 81 f.); but many Southerners have the glide before the /r/ plus morpheme-boundary in all these words.

5. "In all types of AE" where /ɔ/ and /ɑ/ contrast as in *laud* and *rod*, /ɔ/ "is more widespread than /ɑ/ before /g, ŋ/, as in *dog*, *fog*, *log*, *long*, *song*, *prong*" (p. 113); but "all" is too sweeping. Kurath's own Southern synopses (in *Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States*) show /ɑ/ with a small majority in the thirty-two instances of *log*; McDavid's account (*PEAS*, pp. 163-64) seems to make /ɑ/ predominant in both *log* and *fog* in Western New England, New York, parts of Pennsylvania and North Carolina, and among the cultured in Virginia, while "Virginia east of the Blue Ridge and all of North Carolina" have /ɑ/ "almost universally" in *long* and *strong*; and in my own speech (Atlanta) only *dog* of the six words that Kurath cites has /ɔ/.

6. "On the full-stress syllable and the less stressed syllables that follow it before a pause," the pitch "either falls or rises at the end of the sentence, and remains more or less level at the end of a non-final constituent phrase" (pp. 127 f.); but when Kurath himself demonstrated his prosodic analysis at a recent meeting of the Modern Language Association, his "more or less level" pitches were often obvious rises, and so they are quite frequently, as in his own examples "While there's life, there's hope" and "'It was not,' I must confess, 'quite clear to me.'"

Though my references to *PEAS* show that not all of these instances (which could be multiplied) reflect inadequacy in the Atlas materials, others among Kurath's statements are more troubling. For example:

1. In the pronunciation of /l/ after a vowel, Kurath says (p. 72), and especially after a back vowel, "the back of the tongue is more or less raised, as in *hill*, *hull*, *hall*, *hole* and in *pillow*, *fellow*, *follow*"; but "the degree of this 'velarization' of /l/ varies regionally. In parts of the American South, intervocalic /l/ after a front vowel, as in *Billie*, *jelly*, is not velarized." What one misses, of course, is any comment on the /l/ of *pillow* in those areas where the /l/ of *Billie* is clear, and Kurath's silence leaves the inexperienced reader unaware of the phenomena of umlaut in Modern English. In a good many American dialects, particularly in the South, the /l/ of *pillow* is darker, before the back reduction vowel, than the /l/ of *Billie*, where the reduction vowel is

front, and the degree of retraction of the stressed vowels varies accordingly. Similar differences may be heard in pairs like *filler* but *filling*, *ribbon* but *ribbing*; and unless the facts are stated clearly, the retracted vowels of *pillow*, *filler*, and *ribbon* may be used to justify a high central phoneme, the “barred eye” (/i/) of Trager and Smith, which Kurath does not recognize.

2. “Ingliding” [ɪ], [ɛ], [ʌ], and [ʊ] “are common in the American South, . . . especially under full stress, as in *give*, *bed*, *love*, *good*” (p. 17). The checked vowel /ɪ/ “in the South and the South Midland . . . is more commonly an ingliding diphthong . . . , especially before voiced consonants, as in *bid*, *rib*, *give*, *fizz*, *sin*, *bill*. Near consonants in which the back of the tongue is raised, /ɪ/ is sometimes retracted to mid-central . . . , as in *whip*, *crib*, *hill*” (p. 83). For “the checked vowel /ɛ/,” an ingliding diphthong “predominates in the South and the South Midland, especially in such monosyllables as *bed*, *hen*” (pp. 85 f.). For /æ/ in most of the South, ingliding and upgliding diphthongs “occur side by side, as in *bag*, *half*, *ashes*, *dance*, but with varying frequency” (p. 88). Many Southerners, however, will feel that these statements obscure important distinctions. Thus in some dialects the lax front vowels are clearly ingliding before labials as in *rib* but not before alveolars as in *rid*; the stressed vowels are correspondingly more retracted in *ribbon* and *heifer* than in *ridden* and *debtor*; and without these discriminations among the consonants, the vowels will continue to proliferate as in *filler* but *filling* (see above). Students who wish to describe the *systems* of American dialects will conclude that they should supplement the Atlas data by their own field work with their own informants.

Not that Kurath himself is uninterested in systematic description. As he says in his Preface, he has treated “all aspects of English phonology and prosody . . . from a structural point of view,” and one can only admire the determination with which (especially in his “Prosody”) he drives toward the systems, the structures, which underlie the great mass of phonetic details and make them comprehensible. Unfortunately, without a rich and explicit theory, a linguist can only feel his way in inquiry and in justification, and Kurath leaves his readers wondering precisely how he conceives of the systems which he is determined to describe. How does he make or justify a decision that a particular feature—say the diphthong /ɔi/—is “deviant and unsystematized” (pp. 6, 20)? Why is /ɔi/ in British English *buoy* a unit but American /ui/ in the same word a sequence (pp. 20, 117)? Why should strikingly different phonetic entities often be assigned to the same phonemes, both within and between dialects, when on other occasions identical segments are differently assigned? More generally, what reasoned scheme of distinctive features justifies such decisions as that which makes the syllabic and nonsyllabic /l/’s in *little*

phonemically the same (pp. 74, 124) but differentiates the syllabic and non-syllabic schwas in allegedly dissyllabic *r*-less *fire* [fa·ə] (p. 103) and allegedly monosyllabic *r*-less *dear* (p. 81)? In Kurath's treatment of the *r*-less dialects, indeed, such problems become acute. For example, he finds one and the same free vowel phoneme, /ɜ/, in all his British and American variants of words like *bird*, *earth*, *err*, *first*, *fur*, *work*, and *word* itself, even though phonetically the variants are wildly different, though his decision forces him to recognize surprising word-structures and otherwise unnecessary morphophonemic alternation, and though his free mid central could easily be eliminated by simple and historically plausible phonetic rules. One must assume that Kurath has his reasons, but students puzzling over /ɜ/ in *bird* and /ɑ/ in *car* and final /ə/ in *dear* will wish that he had stated them.

How far toward scepticism may students be led by their possible bewilderment? Regarding matters of fact, some evidence has been offered here that Kurath's explanations of his data are not always the best and that explanations may not even be derivable from the facts he has presented; and where theory is concerned, followers both of Trager and Smith and of Chomsky and Halle will be displeased by Kurath's ideas, though for different reasons. The most indisciplined reader is likely to have his reservations, yet no one could or would deny the service which Kurath has done for American linguistics, both in earlier works and in his present volume. This review, quite sufficiently critical, should close with the acknowledgment that it would be hard to find another book in which so great an authority gives so much and such varied information in so small a space.

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A STUDY OF ADVERB PLACEMENT

Among the many problems posed by Modern English word order, for both the native speaker and the foreign learner, one of the most difficult is the placement of adverbs. It is a pleasure, therefore, to welcome Sven Jacobson's thorough study of this subject in his Uppsala dissertation,¹ the result (he tells us) of eight years of research. While earlier students of English word order, including such standard authorities as Sweet, Jespersen, Poutsma, and Kruisinga, have presented much useful material on adverb placement, not until now has anyone made available such full collections of adverbial constructions in English.

1. *Adverbial Positions in English*. By Sven Jacobson. Stockholm: A B Studentenkob, 1964. ix, 385 pp.

The author's basic corpus consists of sixty-six works, half fictional and half nonfictional, written by British authors born after 1890; for further examples of imperative uses, he has used a supplementary corpus of eight prose plays.

Nearly half the book (pp. 205-363) is taken up by a "Dictionary of Adverb Placement," an alphabetical listing of sentence- and verbal-modifying adverbs, with examples of the use of each in various positions and functions in the sentence or clause, and an indication of their relative frequency in each position. These examples are selected from a total collection of some eighteen thousand items. Since the author's interest is exclusively in the syntax of the sentence or clause, and not of the phrase, adverbs which "are pure modifiers of adverbials, adjectivals, nominals, or functionals" are not included.

The Introduction contains a brief survey of previous scholarship and an account of the intended method of presentation. This is followed by three chapters which constitute the basic expository part of the book, Chapter I on "Adverbials and Their Classification," Chapter II on "Positional Terms," in which the terms to be used in Chapter III are presented and defined, and Chapter III, "Factors Which Influence the Placement of Adverbials."

In Chapter I, adverbials are classified according to form, meaning, and function; under the last of these three heads the author distinguishes "modifying" adverbials, "complementary" adverbials (such as *up* in "get up" and *through* in "read through a book"), "referential" adverbs (defined as those which "refer to, i.e. direct attention to, some particular constituent within the sentence," such as *only*, *even*, *at any rate*, and *for instance*), and "conjunctive" adverbials. Of these terms, only "referential" seems new; its usefulness cannot be questioned, though unfortunately it involves also the use of the term "referent," which has been so largely preempted by semantic theory.

The least satisfying part of the book is the section on structural grammar at the beginning of Chapter I, an eclectic mixture of immediate-constituent analysis, transformation theory, and tagmemics, all in a space of slightly more than five pages, which adds little to the reader's understanding and seems to have little relation to the later part of the book. If the author felt that he needed a theoretical introduction of this kind, he would have been well advised to base it solely on the tagmeme. He could thus have located and labeled all the slots in which adverbial constructions occur in typical sentence frames, and he could have avoided, to a large extent, the rather cumbersome apparatus of positional terms set forth in Chapter II.

In Chapter III, which runs to 130 pages, Jacobson presents his analysis of the factors which influence adverb placement. Here the "referential" adverbs, which, as would be expected, show least variation in position, are dealt with in a few pages at the end of the chapter; the bulk of Chapter III is devoted to adverbials which serve purely as modifiers of sentences and verbals (such as

perhaps, the other day, and of course) and those which combine modification with conjunctiveness (such as *hence, therefore, and in that case*). Jacobson considers not only the meaning of the adverbial (time, manner, aspect, degree, place, or mood) but also the type of sentence or clause in which the adverbial appears and the "prominence" of the adverbial with relation to that of the other sentence elements. The prominence of an adverbial is conditioned not only by its "weight" (that is, the effect of duration, stress, pitch, and junctural surroundings on the adverbial itself) but also by the "balance" of the sentence. The author's findings are too complicated to be summarized adequately; suffice it to say that they are amply supported by pertinent examples from his collections.

This is an important monograph, not only because of the size of the corpus on which it is based but also for the ingenuity which the author has applied to its analysis. It should provide a firm foundation for further study of adverb placement in English.

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A TRIBUTE TO E. BAGBY ATWOOD (1906-63)

To the Editor, *American Speech*:

Although I appreciate George Pace's generous references¹ to the table of regional features in my chapter in W. Nelson Francis's *The Structure of American English*, it is by no means all my work. The inception of this table came in the late 1940s, in an informal conference in the office of the Linguistic Atlas at Ann Arbor; of those involved, including Alva L. Davis and Sumner Ives, Bagby Atwood took the lead in assembling the evidence, and the first version issued was his—as I have indicated in my recent review² of his last book, *The Regional Vocabulary of Texas*. I enlarged the version for my own use, and added that to the chapter. But it would have been much harder to prepare such a summary without the work that others had done.

The solid contributions that Atwood made to the study of *American English*—especially the usage of verb forms—have not been adequately recognized by those who have adapted his findings for popular consumption, in handbooks and otherwise. As a scholar, and as current editor of the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States, I feel that his contribution to my work must be acknowledged.

RAVEN I. McDAVID, JR.

University of Chicago

1. *American Speech*, XL (1965), 47-52.

2. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, LXIII (1964), 841-46.

AMONG THE NEW WORDS

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(With the assistance of Norman R. McMillan)

REFERENCE TO the entry *chimp(o)naut* and the citations under *-naut* will disclose an interesting new formative element. It may have become implicit in the word *astronaut*, formed, according to the *NID* 3, from “*astr-* + *-naut* (as in *aeronaut*)” and defined in one sense as ‘a traveler in interplanetary space.’ *Aeronaut* itself is generally considered to be a borrowing from the French *aéronaute* (Gr. *aēr(o)-* + *nautēs* ‘sailor’). It is defined by the *OED* as ‘one who sails through the air, or who makes balloon ascents,’ by the *NID* 3 as ‘one that operates or travels in an airship or balloon.’

Though perhaps the astronauts began as ‘travelers in interplanetary space,’ they have more and more become explorers, and with the word in this connotation is almost immediately associated another, *Argonaut*, one who, if not an actual explorer, came to be considered ‘an adventurer or traveler engaged in a particular quest’ (*NID* 3, b). Hence we arrive at the use of *-naut* added to another word element to denote ‘one who explores or investigates; that which is employed in exploration or investigation.’ It is, possibly, to be described as a combining form.

Despite the fact that *plastiqueur* is apparently not yet an English word, the two citations in English publications perhaps justify its inclusion in the glossary along with *plastic bomb* and *plastic bombing*. Its formation would presumably parallel that of English agent nouns, viz., *plastique* + *-eur*. No French dictionary available to me lists *plastique* in the sense given in the etymology of *plastic bomb* in the glossary. The *Larousse Modern French-English Dictionary* (N. Y.: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1960) has the sense ‘plastic goods.’

The number of citations of *megabuck* may seem disproportionate for such a simply defined term. They are included for the light they throw on attitudes. Even after nineteen years, a writer still regards the term as slang. In this connection there comes to mind a remark that James B. McMillan once made (*Coll. Eng.*, 10: 217/1) to the effect that the slang label might better be used only for “short-lived novelties.”

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: For citations, H. Alexander (1), T. L. Crowell (1), O. B. Emerson (1), E. E. Ericson (1), Rex Everage (1), Ernest H. Hawkins (2), Alice C. Kingery (1), Raven I. McDavid (2), James Macris (1), Mamie J. Meredith (7), Porter G. Perrin (7), Anne B. Russell (3), and R. M. Wallace

(2). C. Beaumont Wicks contributed to the remarks on *plastiqueur*, and Charles L. Seebeck, Jr., composed the definition of *real time*.

BIODEGRADABLE, *adj.* [*bio-* + *degrade* (cf. *v.t.* 6 and *v.i.* 4 in *NID* 3) + *-able*] See quotes.—1964 Tcxize Chemicals, Inc. "Interim Report on Operations for Six Months Ended May 2, 1964," 29 May. We are now preparing to market a remarkable new light-duty liquid detergent product that is biodegradable, referred to as a "soft" detergent. 1965 *Encyclopedia Year Book* (N.Y.: Gaché Publishing Co.) p. 357/1 BIODEGRADABLE, *adj.* Said of a detergent whose chemicals are quickly destroyed or broken down by the bacteria found in soil and water.

BIOTRON, *n.* [Cf. *OEDS*, *s.v.* *Biotron* 'Wireless Telegr.' {1926} The biological term seems more likely to be formed by analogy with *phytotron*, as suggested by the first quot.] See quotes.—1958 *Science* 5 Sept. p. 510/3 (S. B. Hendricks and F. W. Went) The phytotron has been generally accepted as an experimental tool, comparable to telescopes, particle accelerators, fossil collections, and other tools of science. Interest in such facilities . . . has also been expressed by others experimenting with animals; thus the concept of a "biotron" developed. 1959 *New International Year Book* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co.) p. 554/1. 1964 *N.Y. Times* 31 May p. E7/8 Final approval has been given for the construction of a "Biotron" at the University of Wisconsin. The building will be designed for the study of living organisms in a wide variety of environments.

CHIMP(O)NAUT, *n.* [*chimpanzee* + *-naut* (see preliminary remarks and *-naut* in the glossary)] See quotes.—1961 *Des Moines Register* 30 Nov. p. 6/2 Chimpnaut Enos has said very little about his experience in orbit, but for solid information, his report is about as enlightening as those of the Russian cosmonauts at that. 1962 *N.Y. Journal-American* 14 May p. 8/5-7 (heading and subheading) [Dr. James A.] Van Allen downgrades spacemen[.] Prefers chimpanauts. *Tuscaloosa News* 17 June p. 26/6-7 Because of the close similarity between chimpanzees and men, the chimpanauts are expected to keep pioneering the way for man in space—perhaps all the way to the moon. 1965 *World Book Year Book* p. 546/1.

COUNTER-ESCALATION, *n.* See *escalation*.—1965 *Newsweek* 7 June p. 55/3 However, the Soviets now begin to take a more active role in the defense of North Vietnam, simultaneously hinting at counter-escalations against the West elsewhere in the world. . . .

ESCALATE, *v.t.* & *i.* [Cf. *escalate* and *escalation* in *NID* 3.] See last quot.—1964 Chet Huntley over NBC 8 June The war in Laos has been escalated. . . . *Tuscaloosa News* 27 June p. 4/2 No, it is not 1914 in the Far East. The present unacknowledged war might indeed be "escalated." But—again assuming rationality in Peking—it could hardly "escalate" too violently. *World Book Year Book* p. 608/3. 1965 *Tuscaloosa News* 15 Feb. p. 2/2 (AP) The fact that the Viet Nam crisis did not escalate into anything worse over the weekend was a reassuring factor. *N.Y. Times* 11 April p. 14E/3 "Escalate" means "step up the war," but again anybody can say, "We've stepped up the war in Asia," without giving the impression that all he knows is what he reads in the newspapers.

ESCALATION, *n.*—1961 *Nation* 4 March p. 181/2 But wars, large or small, are fought for victory. That means you pound the enemy with every available lethal assistance, with the inevitable result—to use the fancy new term—of escalation to all-out war. Limited war is a contradiction of terms. It is an illusion of limited minds. 1965 *Newsweek* 7 June p. 54/3 Kahn's odd brand of liberalism strongly colors his latest book, "On Escalation: Metaphors and Scenarios" (308 pages. *Frederic A. Praeger*. \$6.95), a searching exploration of modern nuclear strategy.

GOLDWATERISM, *n.* See *Am. Sp.* 40: 144. Add earlier quotes.—1960 *Nation* 9 July p. 25/2 (letter from Barry M. Goldwater) A bit further along Mr. Spivack asks [*Nation* 18 June p. 531/3]: "How deep is Goldwaterism? And what does it portend for the future of the GOP?" That is the end of any discussion of my Republican philosophy. What he has done here is to resort to a word—"Goldwaterism"—hoping that, without explanation, it will mean something to the general public.

HARD, *adj.* [Cf. *OED*, s.v. *hard*, *adj.*, 14.a: 'Applied to water holding in solution mineral, especially calcareous, salts, which decompose soap and render the water unfit for washing purposes' {1660-}] See quot.—1964 *N.Y. Times* 2 Aug. p. E7/7-8 An end may be in sight to the pollution of the nation's underground water supplies by the foamy "hard" detergents. Those chemicals, which are not easily degraded by natural biological processes in the soil they pass through, have been putting heads of foam on lakes and streams, blowing as froth over the countryside and even streaming sudsily out of drinking faucets.

INNER SPACE, *n.* [Cf. *inner space*, 'the sea' (*Am. Sp.* 35: 285)] See quotes.—1958 *Sat. Rev.* 13 Sept. p. 28/2 Must this inner space continue to be peopled with imaginative dragons of strange color and dropping off places that confine the moral venture to the shallow water of one's own mainland or adjacent islands of narrow self-interest? Must the haunting emptiness of inner space isolating man from man and nation from nation continue to be the dominant theme of poet, prophet, and philosopher in our time? 1961 *N.Y. Times Book Rev.* 14 May p. 7/1-2 In "Exploring Inner Space," "a nationally known writer chose to use the pseudonym Jane Dunlap" for the purpose of relating her "personal experiences under LSD-25," lysergic acid diethylamide, a drug that induces psychotic-like reactions. 1962 *N.Y. Times* 1 July p. E7/2 (cartoon cap.) "Anybody worried about inner space?" 1963 *Friends Journal* 1 Feb. p. 53/1 Fifth, exploring "inner space" of the "beyond within" appears to be no armchair diversion for the timorous. It takes uncommon audacity to venture into the unknown. Outer space has captured the public fancy, but probing the beyond within is just as daring a pursuit as piloting a space ship, with as many rigors, demanding every ounce of a person's courage, skill, and determination. *Ibid.* 1 Nov. p. 465/1 An article in the *Friends Journal* of February 1, 1963, "Exploring Inner Space," by G. M. Smith, tells of a group of people who met at Pendle Hill with a Japanese Zen Buddhist to learn oriental ways of meditation. The article suggests that this sort of training might be given to groups of Friends to deepen the spiritual life of our Meetings. I would like to point out that the new depth psychology, coming to us from Europe, offers a method of spiritual growth that is more suited to our western minds. 1964 *Encyclopedia Year Book* p. 365/2 **INNER SPACE**. The limitless depths of the personality.

MEGABUCK, *n.* [*mega*- 'million' + *buck* 'dollar'] See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1946 *London Picture Post* 7 Dec. p. 10 They have laughingly coined the term 'megabuck'—one megabuck equals a million dollars. 1950 *Sat. Eve. Post* 18 Feb. p. 111/1 The Mark trio, which cost more than \$1,000,000—a "megabuck" or "kilogrand," as mathematicians say facetiously—work twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. 1951 *N.Y. Times Mag.* 22 April p. 35/4-5 Megabuck: Today this unofficial term is as frequent in modern physics as its predecessor, "kilobuck," which is a scientist's idea of a short way to say "a thousand dollars." A fifty-megabuck (\$50,000,000) laboratory is today a common-place. Mega means "great" in Greek, "million" as used here. *Fortune* July p. 138 It has recently been estimated that all that would be required to build a pilot model of a completely electronic record-keeping system is one 'megabuck'—\$1 million. 1952 *N.Y. Times* 21 Dec. p. E7/7 (The cosmotron cost about three and one-half "megabucks"—a megabuck being physicist's slang for \$1,000,000.) 1953 *Seattle Times* 24 June p. 6 And what is a megabuck? It is a million dollars—as in the sentence, "it will cost so and so many thousand megabucks to deliver (or to prevent) an attack of X-megaton power, which may be expected to result in Y-mega-deaths." 1954 *Life* 12 April p. 27 Scientists, preparing to measure the force of the explosion in megatons (1 megaton is 1 million tons of TNT), measured the cost facetiously in megabucks. 1956 *N.Y. Times* 18 Nov. p. 46/3 This, with other equipment, including the half-mile tunnel, the subterranean target building, the building for the remote control of the machine, a large administration building and a power house with a 30,000-kilowatt generator, will bring the total cost of the machine to \$26,000,000, or 26 "megabucks" in the terminology of the scientists. 1958 *New Republic* 27 Jan. p. 10 We are living in what Von Neumann called the Megabuck or Kilogrand era. 1963 Mencken-McDavid *The American Language* (N.Y.: A. A. Knopf) p. 232 Nuclear physicists talk cheerfully of . . . the cost of apparatus in

megabucks. . . 1965 *Tuscaloosa News* 16 June In atomic age slang, \$1 million is a megabuck.

MONOKINI, *n.* [*mono-* + *bikini*] Skimpy bathing trunks for men.—1964 *Time* 7 Aug. p. 36/3 Between times, they had themselves a ball sunbathing at Beirut's Saint Simon Beach, she in a bikini that was utterly tutu, he in a monokini that was, as they say in London, utterly twee. 1965 *Encyclopedia Year Book* p. 357/2. *Newsweek* 7 June p. 80/1 The monokini already had gone the way of the bikini.

MOON SHIP, MOONSHIP, *n.* See quotes.—1951 *Tuscaloosa News* 21 Oct. p. 25/6 (UP) Actually, he said, there probably will be three types of space ships—a ferry or "local" ship to take man outside the atmosphere, a moon ship sent up to the artificial satellite or even built there to make the flights to the moon where another tanker might refuel it for the trip back, and deep space ships which would be built in space and stay there. 1958 *Life* 6 Jan. p. 65 The moon ship, designed for exploration trips around the moon, is composed mainly of a cluster of chemical fuel tanks. [Remainder of quot. fully describes the moon ship.] 1959 Woodford A. Heflin (ed.), *Aerospace Glossary* (Maxwell [Ala.] Air Force Base: Research Studies Institute, Air University) p. 67/2 MOONSHIP, *n.* A spacecraft designed for travel to the moon. 1964 *N.Y. Times* 16 Aug. p. 9/4 The Saturn will carry a dummy Apollo moonship into orbit for the second time.

NAB, *n.* [*nut* + *and* + *bolt*] See quotes.—1963 *Life* 27 Sept. p. 37 The other idea is to outfit him with a weird, new array of tools . . . a technician . . . tries out a NAB (Nuts and Bolts) which works very much like a ZERT. . . (which see) 1964 *National Geographic* March p. 380/1–2 At right, a special wrench called nab (short for nut and bolt) allows him to apply twisting force to the bolt without moving his body. 1965 *Newsweek* 14 June p. 34/3 Some of the hardware is small, like the tool called nab (a contraction of nut and bolt), for use in weightless space.

-NAUT. See quotes. and preliminary remarks.—ALUMINAUT. 1964 *N.Y. Times* 30 Aug. p. 81/1 Hamilton, Bermuda, Aug. 29—An important new weapon will be added to man's armory for exploration and research exploitation of ocean depths on Wednesday when the Aluminaut is launched at Groton, Conn. The Aluminaut, being built by the Electric Boat Company, is 50 feet long and designed to descend 15,000 feet and travel underwater for 100 miles. In Bermuda at the moment is the father of the vessel, Louis Reynolds, chairman of the board of Reynolds Metals, owner of the submarine. BATHYNAUT. 1961 *N.Y. Times Book Rev.* 5 Feb. p. 7/5 As the deep-ship crept down into its last fathom—its dangling guide rope coiling on the red ooze, its lanterns wan in the primordial dark—the bathynauts saw a fish, not a nightmare of a creature suited to the place but a prosaic flatfish like a sole, with a pair of normal-looking and wholly unaccountable eyes. Slowly, too, Piccard and Walsh shook hands. HYDRONAUT. 1961 *N.Y. Times Book Rev.* 25 June p. 20/4 130 FEET DOWN: *Handbook for Hydronauts*. By Hank and Shaney Frey. Illustrated. 274 pp. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World. \$6.50. Basic information for those who wish to explore the underwater world. PLASTINAUT. [See quotes. s.v. in *Am. Sp.* 39: 146.] 1964 *Missiles and Rockets* 10 Feb. p. 35/3 . . . the Air Force "plastinaut," a plastic dummy whose tissue characteristics simulate man's, could be orbited in the early unmanned check-out of the MOL [Manned Orbiting Laboratory] to get exact radiation data. (1965 *Encyclopedia Year Book*, p. 357/2.)

NERVA, N.E.R.V.A., *n.* [See first quot.] See quotes. (Also attrib.)—1961 *Seattle Times Mag.* 2 July p. 17 Research results will be used in the fabrication of the first flyable nuclear-rocket engine, called N.E.R.V.A. (an acronym for Nuclear Engine for Rocket Vehicle Application). 1962 *Brit. Book of the Year* p. 742/2. *N.Y. Times* 7 Oct. p. E7/8 A major step in the development of NERVA, the A. E. C. states in its 1962 report to Congress, will be the initial inflight test series "which may reasonably be anticipated in the 1966–67 period." It is presently planned to test a NERVA engine in an upper-stage of a Saturn launch vehicle. The flight-test vehicle would be lifted off the ground by the chemical booster and the nuclear engine would start as the chemical booster finished firing. 1964 *Sci. News Letter* 28 Nov. p. 343/1 Tests for the Westinghouse-developed NERVA reactor (Nuclear Engine for Rocket

Vehicle Application) have already shown a specific impulse—the rocket equivalent of miles-per-gallon or efficiency—better than twice as great as that of equally powerful chemically-powered engines.

NEUTRON STAR, *n.* See quotes.—1952 *Time* 14 July p. 51/1 But when the excitement was over, the only thing left would be a “neutron-star”: a ball of peculiar matter made largely or entirely of neutrons. 1964 *N.Y. Times* 12 Jan. p. E11/7 The new technique of rocket astronomy has disclosed what seem to be the most “solid” objects ever observed. They are thought to be stars composed entirely of closely packed neutrons, weighing from 10 to 100 billion tons per cubic inch. It has been calculated that such neutron stars must be from five to ten miles in diameter, with a weight comparable to that of the entire sun. *Tuscaloosa News* 27 April p. 1/5–6 (AP) . . . the novel experiment is designed to prove or disprove this theory: That mysterious, celestial X-rays, discovered last summer by another rocket flight, are generated “neutron stars.” These are believed to be the ultimate remnants of supernovae, or exploding stars.

NUKE, *n.* [From *nuclear*.] See quotes.—1959 *N.Y. Times Mag.* 1 Feb. p. 46/3 . . . soon there may be 5-inch nuclear shells and portable Davy Crockett “nukes” for the infantryman. 1960 *Time* 4 July p. 52/1 But the nuclear submarines—called “nukes”—can cruise underwater for weeks at top speed. 1964 *Time* 25 Sept. p. 16/2 G . . . has described these tactical “nukes” as “conventional—any weapon carried by an infantryman or a team of infantrymen.” *U.S. News & World Report* 19 Oct. p. 46 All the “tactical nukes” now are said to require a personal go-ahead from the President before they can be fired.

OP-, OP ART, *n.* See quotes.—1964 *Life* 11 Dec. p. 133 Op-art is short for “optical art,” a paradoxical movement dedicated to the practice of fascinating deceptions. *Reporter* 14 Jan. p. 46/3 But they do have the beginnings of Pop Art and Op Art (Optical Art), and since a copy of *Art International* mailed from Zurich will reach Tel Aviv in ten or twelve days, there is no reason for any lag. 1965 *Sat. Rev.* 29 May p. 29/3 Though Albers has been called the father of op art, I find this an unjust label. His delicately balanced paintings are not based on obvious optical rules, nor is he trying to shock our eyes merely by illusive tricks. *Ibid.* 5 June p. 6/2 Well, we’ve had pop art and op art, and we suppose it’s only simple computer logic to expect the next step . . . *Tuscaloosa News* 4 July Sunday Comics (“Buzz Sawyer” by Roy Crane) What’s “op” art? It’s a new movement, Sir. “Op” stands for optical. It’s intended to dazzle the eye and give illusion of motion.

OPSTER, *n.* [*op* art + *-ster*].—1965 *Sat. Rev.* 29 May p. 29/3 It would seem that two older artists have been curiously misunderstood—Albers by the “opsters” and Duchamp by the “popsters.”

PHYTOTRON, *n.* [*phyto-* ‘plant’ + *-tron* (see *NID* 3 and first quot. s.v. *biotron*)] See quotes. and *biotron* above.—1949 *New Words and Words in the News* (Funk & Wagnalls Co.) Supp. No. 3 Fall p. 3/1. *Newsweek* 20 June p. 54 The laboratory, called the ‘phytotron,’ . . . creates ‘weather’ by closing switches and pushing buttons on an intricate control board. 1950 *Brit. Book of the Year* p. 740/1. 1958 *Science* 5 Sept. p. 510/2–3 The first facility for the study of plant growth under a wide range of controlled conditions was constructed at California Institute of Technology in Pasadena, in 1948–49. This facility was dubbed a “phytotron” in a humorous moment, but the term was so appropriate that it has endured. The variables under control are chiefly ranges of temperature, light intensities, and cycles of these variables.

PLASTIC BOMB, *n.* [Fr. *plastique*, *Specif.* An explosive the consistency of putty that combines TNT and hexogen (1962 *N.Y. Times Mag.* 4 Feb. p. 10/1; *Newsweek* 5 Feb. p. 37/2)]. See etymology and quotes. (Also fig.)—1962 Douglas Edwards on CBS News 22 Jan. /plæstik bam/ *Newsweek* 5 Feb. p. 37/2 The French language has gained several new words from the plastic bombs that rock Paris every night. *Life* 23 Feb. p. 41 (pict. cap.) The night before, the O.A.S. had flung here and there the plastic bombs that have become the dread of Paris. *Harper’s Mag.* April p. 26 It is thus a kind of French “ultra”

movement, lobbing ideological plastic bombs into the national marketplace. 1964 *World Book Year Book* p. 611/1.

PLASTIC BOMBING, *n.*—1962 *N.Y. Times Mag.* 4 Feb. p. 11/1-2 A wave of plastic bombings . . . has led to widespread belief in the danger of a Fascist coup.

PLASTIQUEUR, *n.* See quotes.—1962 *Newsweek* 5 Feb. p. 37/2 The French language has gained several ominous new words from the plastic bombs that rock Paris every night. The men who plant the explosives are *les plastiqueurs*. . . . *Seattle Times* 13 May p. 8 I cannot help but wonder if "plastiqueur" may not soon find its idiomatic equivalent in Spanish and Portuguese.

PLENCH, *n.* [See quotes.] See quotes.—1963 *Life* 27 Sept. p. 37 PLENCH. Combination pliers and wrench, it works like a ZERT to install or remove nuts and bolts. 1964 *National Geographic* March p. 380/1-2 Astronaut's tool kit includes new devices for making repairs in the weightless environment of space—spammer (space hammer), plench (pliers and wrench), and zert (zero reaction tool).

POLYUNSATURATE, *n.* [*poly-* + *unsaturate*, *n.* (*NID* 3. Cf. *ibid.*, s.v. *unsaturated*, *adj.* b: 'of a chemical compound or mixture: used esp. of organic compounds containing double or triple bonds between carbon atoms. . . .')] See quotes.—1962 *Seattle Times Pictorial* 25 March (adv.) Polyunsaturates Make Beauty News[.] It's a face cream that contains essential polyunsaturates. That's right—polyunsaturates, the natural elements you've been reading so much about that are so important to your health. *Chicago Sun-Times* 20 July p. 28/3 Maybe, so current thinking goes, we would be better off in the long run to reduce our costly animal fats and substitute the vegetable (polyunsaturate) fats and oils. 1965 *Newsweek* 24 May p. 56/1 (adv.) Medical studies now suggest great possible advantages in diets low in saturated fats and high in polyunsaturates.

QUASAR, *n.* [*quasi-stellar object*.] See quotes.—1964 *N.Y. Times* 6 Sept. p. E9/7 The recent discovery of "quasars"—objects at extreme distances radiating light and radio waves with almost incredible intensity—has revived Dr. Ambartsumian's theory. Some at the meeting suggested that there may be no essential difference between the energy source at the core of our own galaxy and that which powers the radio galaxies of the quasars. 1965 *Sci. News Letter* 2 Jan. p. 7/3 Combined optical and radio studies of the universe increased the observed number of "quasars," short for "quasi-stellar objects," to 13. Quasars are the most distant objects so far discovered in space and the most powerful sources of radiation, both light and radio waves, yet known. *Newsweek* 21 June p. 62/2 Sandage and other astronomers have found about 60 quasars—a unique class of starlike objects that give off more light and radio noise than a galaxy of 100 billion stars. *N.Y. Times* 13 June p. 1/3 They resemble the strange, recently discovered "quasars," except they are not sources of strong radio emission, and are so numerous that they should enable astronomers to determine the nature of the universe.

REAL TIME, *n.* The term used when a computer is processing data so that its results can be immediately utilized in an experiment being conducted. Also see quotes. (Also attrib.)—1959 Woodford A. Heflin (ed.) *Aerospace Glossary* (Maxwell [Ala.] Air Force Base: Research Studies Institute, Air University) p. 84/1-2 REAL TIME. Time in which reporting on events or recording of events is simultaneous with the events. *Systems Mag.* (Remington Rand) Feb. p. 17/2 (pict. cap.) The objective is data reporting on missile test flights in 'real time' (instantaneously). When the system is completed, information will be read back from a missile immediately, telling the scientists how it is reacting to speed, friction, how the guidance system is performing, and many other details. 1960 *N.Y. Times* 17 July p. 13/4 As an experiment, Air Force and Weather Bureau meteorologists attempted to use the pictures to make "real time" forecasts of the weather—forecasts fresh enough to be useful. 1961 *ibid.* 28 Feb. p. 13S The airline said it recently signed an order for two Remington Rand Univac "real time" computers and their auxiliary equipment. The term "real time" refers to computer operation that takes place simultaneously with an event, such as a sale of a seat or

a change in an airliner's arrival time. Such systems are used in the control of missiles in flight. 1964 *ibid.* 22 Nov. p. 10F/3 A process computer accepts data directly from measuring devices used in industrial processes. It acts upon the data in "real time," or at a speed sufficient to make effective changes in the process. 1965 *Newsweek* 14 June p. 32/3 This "real-time flight planning"—deciding what to do according to the occasion—pleased Kraft.

REVERSE INTEGRATION, *n.* See quotes.—1954 *N.Y. Times* 30 May p. 34/5 Fisk officials cite her case as being possibly an example of "reverse integration," a phrase enunciated in the light of the recent Supreme Court decision prohibiting segregation in the public schools. There are two others at Fisk who offer comparable examples. They are white students in the undergraduate school. 1957 *N.Y. Times Mag.* 6 Jan. p. 20 (title) Reverse Integration 1963 *N.Y. Times* 7 April p. 63/4 Hundreds of white students are attending educational institutions that were once Negro, according to the Associated Press. "Reverse integration," this development is called. *Tuscaloosa News* 8 Sept. p. 14/7 (AP) Little Rock, scene of violent integrationist movements six years ago when Negro students sought entrance to all-white schools, is the scene today of reverse integration.

RHOCHREMATICS, *n.* [See second quot.] See quotes.—1960 *Seattle Times* 15 May p. 19 The subject is "Rhochrematics—A Scientific Approach to the Management of Material Flows." *Rhochrematics, A Scientific Approach to the Management of Material Flows*. Management series, no. 2 (Seattle: Bureau of Business Research, College of Business Administration, University of Washington) p. 3 Today's business literature is replete with references to "total distribution costs," "landed cost management," and other words and phrases which refer to different aspects of the management of material flows. To avoid the stigmas and manifold impressions attached to new terms a new word broad enough to encompass those areas of business activity yet precise to the point of being exclusive in connotation has been developed. This word is Rhochrematics ["Created by Professor William C. Grummel and Mr. William Royal Stokes of the Department of Classics, University of Washington."] It comes from the Greek "rhoe" meaning to flow as a river or a stream; "chrema" meaning products, materials, or things; and the abstract ending "ics" for any of the sciences. 1961 *Advanced Management* Feb. p. 16/1 (Richard A. Johnson) Rhochrematics is defined to include the flow from raw materials, through the processing stages, to the distribution of the finished product, and was coined specifically to eliminate the confusion among terms. It incorporates all of the other concepts—to produce to satisfy the needs of the consumer—to organize the distribution of finished goods in terms of the consumer—to integrate the functions of production and marketing into an effective total system.

SHOCK FROCK, *n.* See quotes.—1964 *Nashville Tennessean* 25 June p. 15/4 (AP) The makers of Britain's first bare-bosomed cocktail dresses said yesterday they have had second thoughts about their shock frocks. 1965 *Tuscaloosa News* 13 Feb. p. 4/3 (quoting *Charleston Daily Mail*) Now comes the ultimate—the topless swim suit and the "shock frock" or (why not come right out and say it) the bare-bosom look.

SOFT, *adj.* [Cf. *OED*, s.v. *soft*, *adj.*, 25.a: 'Applied to water, such as rain or river water, which is more or less free from calcium and magnesium salts . . . ' {1775-}] See quotes.—1963 *Union Carbide Stockholder News* Sept. p. 1/1 Facilities are now being built at Union Carbide's Texas City, Texas, and Institute, West Virginia, plants for producing 150 million pounds or more a year of an alkylate for making "biologically soft" detergents. Most of today's detergents resist breakdown by bacteria present in soil and water, and as a result create voluminous foam in sewage treatment systems. However, the detergents that can be produced from the new Union Carbide chemicals can be quickly destroyed or degraded in sewage systems and waterways to non-detergent-like products, which show little surface activity and do not produce foam. 1964 *Texize Chemicals, Inc.* 29 May [Quot. s.v. *biodegradable*.]

SOFT-LAND, *v.t.* & *i.* To land (an object) on the moon in such a manner as to prevent its being destroyed on impact.—1960 *Seattle Times Mag.* 29 May p. 22 . . . the first lunar vehicle may be a small robot to be soft-landed on the moon within the next five years. 1963 *Family Weekly* 7 April p. 5/1 You've soft-landed on the uncroded, airless surface of the moon.

1964 *Time* 7 Aug. p. 42/3 Later, J.P.L.'s unmanned Surveyor spacecraft will soft-land on the moon. . . . 1965 *Newsweek* 21 June p. 24/3 . . . the latest Lunik probe, dispatched on Tuesday to "soft land" on the moon and perhaps steal some of the spotlight from the Gemini 4, failed to make a needed mid-course maneuver and missed its target by 100,000 miles.

SOFT LANDING, *n.* See last quot.—1958 *Think* July p. 6/1 Moon explorations will involve three distinct levels of difficulty. The first would be a simple shot at the moon, ending either in a 'hard' landing or a circling of the moon. Next in difficulty would be a 'soft' landing. And most difficult of all would be a 'soft' landing followed by a safe return to earth. 1959 *Seattle Times Mag.* 25 Oct. p. 10 In a soft landing it is necessary to take the payload down to the surface with retro-rockets firing near the approach. . . . 1960 *N.Y. Times* 31 July p. E7/8 The Surveyor craft will be used for "soft" landings, designed to place equipment on the moon, with the craft presumably still able to function. 1965 *Tuscaloosa News* 8 July p. 7/2 In a soft landing the spacecraft comes down so slowly and gently that delicate scientific instruments are able to survive the impact and relay their measurements back to earth.

SPAMMER, *n.* [See quotes.] See quotes.—1963 *Life* 27 Sept. p. 37 SPAMMER. Short for space hammer, it uses a spring which is triggered to bang away like a riveter. 1964 *National Geographic* March p. 380/1–2 [Quot. *s.v.* *plench.*]

SPY IN THE SKY, SPY-IN-THE-SKY, *n.* 1. See quotes.—1960 *N.Y. Times* 12 June p. 6E/2 The U-2 reconnaissance "overflights" provided, by aerial photography and tape recording of Soviet radio and radar emissions, the most important intelligence gathered by the C.I.A. The "spy in the sky" more than compensated for the very few spies on the ground that the United States has been able to infiltrate into Russia. 1961 *World Book Year Book* p. 160/2. 1963 *N.Y. Times Mag.* 10 Nov. p. 96/4 The argument about so-called "spies in the sky" serves to illustrate how military-political issues act as roadblocks to progress in reaching agreement on practical legal questions. 2. *Attrib.* See quotes.—1960 *Life* 22 Aug. p. 19/2 Still to come in 1960: more weather, navigation, communication and "spy-in-the-sky" satellites, two moon orbiters, another deep space probe, two Mercury orbital shots with man-sized capsules, and three suborbital shots—the last one with a man in it. 1965 *Sat. Rev.* 22 May p. 16/2 The notorious U-2, the most effective spy ever invented, was developed, and a start was made with the spy-in-the-sky satellites—though their value may have been exaggerated.

ZERT, *n.* [See quotes.] See quotes.—1963 *Life* 27 Sept. p. 37 POWER ZERT. Battery-powered wrench does work. It is anchored in place to keep it from spinning. *Ibid.* 27 Sept. p. 37 HAND ZERT. The word stands for Zero Reaction Tool, and you must squeeze the handles to turn a bolt. 1964 *National Geographic* March p. 380/1–2 [Quot. *s.v.* *plench.*]

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PHONETICS

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flecting laryngeal vibration (voice onset time) is sufficient to predict the function of three acoustic features: (1) voicing; (2) aspiration; and (3) force of articulation. These suffice to differentiate the stop categories in each language.]

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Malmberg, Bertil. Minimal systems, potential distinctions, and primitive structures. *Proc. Ninth Cong. Ling.*, 78-84. 1964. [Proposes that the theory of phonemic description include the concepts of *maximal system* and *minimal system*. The former would comprise all existing distinctions: weak ones, unstable ones, or those found only in loanwords. The latter would contain only the minimum distinctions necessary for comprehension, serving as a common base for all speakers.]

— Note sur la structure syllabique de l'espagnol mexicain. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung*, 17: 252-55. 1964. [Contrary to tendency of all Spanish and Latin-American dialects, the Spanish of Mexico has strong consonants in syllable-final position. Attributes this feature to substratum influence of syllabic habits of Indian languages around Mexico City.]

Peng, Frederick. See Esser, Harry.

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Rivette, Laurence. See Tanner, Wilson.

Salazar, R. See Valdman, A., and M. A. Charbonneaux.

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- Starkweather, J. *See* Hargreaves, W.
- Straka, Georges. *Album phonétique*. Quebec: Laval University Press, 1965. 188 pp. [Consists of over 150 pages of kymograms, palatograms, spectrograms, and X-ray tracings of French vowels and consonants in isolation and in various phonetic environments. Contains titles and legends but no text.]
- Tanner, Wilson, and Laurence Rivette. Experimental study of tone-deafness. *Jour. Acoustical Soc. America*, 36: 1465-68. 1964. [Tone-deaf subject, unable to distinguish which of two tones is higher, can discriminate loudness differences of tones normally and loudness differences of white noise better than for normal speech.]
- Trill, D. *See* Carr, P.
- Truby, H. M. Pleniphotic transcription in phonetic analysis. *Proc. Ninth Cong. Ling.*, 101-8. 1964. [Very narrow transcription based on frame by frame analysis of a cineradiographic film; illustrates articulatory synchrony and mutual influence of sequential sounds.]
- Uldall, Elizabeth. Transitions in fricative noise. *Lang. and Sp.*, 7: 13-15. 1964. [Sequences like /sps/, /sts/, and /sks/ distinguished from each other on a speech synthesizer by appropriate falling, flat, or rising angles in the lower cut of the s friction noise preceding and following the stop. Though often redundant, frictions themselves have transitions.]
- Valdman, A., R. Salazar, and M. A. Charbonneaux. A drillbook of French pronunciation. New York: Harper and Row, 1964. 293 pp. [Contrasts phonetics of French and American English. Features use of minimal pairs in morphological transformations (*partez*→*partons*) and contrastive pairs comparing English and French (*flow/flot*, *mill/mille*).]
- Waldo, George S. The significance of accentuation in English words. *Proc. Ninth Cong. Ling.*, 204-10. 1964. [Stress in English predictable 95 percent of the time when the ending is used as a point of reference. Summarizes types of endings and exceptions.]
- Webster, J. C. Relation between speech-interference contours and idealized articulation-index contours. *Jour. Acoustical Soc. America*, 36: 1662-69. 1964. [As masking noise ratio increases, frequency dividing speech bandwidth into two halves (each contributing equally to speech intelligibility) shifts downward from about 2,000 cps to 1,000 cps. Efficiency of higher frequencies decreases.]
- Zwanenburg, W. *Recherches sur la prosodie de la phrase française*. Leiden: University Press, 1965. 136 pp. [Analyzes seven substantial conversations by ear. Uses pitch rise, pitch fall, and pitch level symbols as basis. Concludes that intonation delimits sentences and phrases, distinguishes sentence and phrase types, and emphasizes elements within phrases.]

MISCELLANY

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"GREMLIN" AGAIN

The author of a "Miscellany" item in a recent issue of *American Speech*¹ suggests an etymology for *gremlin* different from those proposed before, including the one in the *NID* 3. As I am responsible for the latter etymology, I feel somewhat obligated to defend it, or at least to explain the principles which lie behind it.

First of all, Mr. Clark misquotes the *NID* 3, running the etymology in with the definition and misspelling *IrGael* (the abbreviation for *Irish Gaelic*) as *Ir. Gail*. The etymology as it appears within square brackets reads as follows: "perh. modif. (influenced by E *goblin*) of IrGael *gruaimīn* ill-humored little fellow. . . ."

Clark states that O.E. *gremian* 'to vex,' suggested by Shipley, "may strike closer to the mark."² But O.E. *gremian* is an unsatisfactory possible source because its descendant, M.E. *gremen*, seems to have died out in the fifteenth century—see the *OED* at *greme*. It does not seem to have lived on in dialect—at any rate, it is not included in the *EDD* or the *Scottish National Dictionary*. Surely no one would seriously suggest that the word *gremlin*, a product of the Second World War, was constructed from a fifteenth-century verb! This is, of course, remotely possible, but highly improbable; and sound etymologies are based on the probable, the plausible, not the remotely possible. A suggested etymon must be plausible not only phonetically but morphologically, semantically, chronologically, and geographically as well. We must exclude O.E. *gremian* on chronological grounds.

The etymon that Mr. Clark most favors, however, is the Dutch verb *griemelen*, *grimmelen*, *gremelen* 'to swarm with, crawl with . . .,'³ which he finds attested in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal*.⁴ I am unable to check the chronology of this word in Dutch, as this dictionary is not easily available to me, but even if it is a common word in modern Dutch (which its absence in *Cassell's Dutch-English Dictionary*⁵ causes me to doubt), the semantics are exceedingly doubtful. Mr. Clark's talk of "the change from the dynamic to the

1. Richard C. Clark, "'Gremlin' Twenty Years Later," *American Speech*, XXXIX (1964), 237-39.

2. P. 237. 3. Pp. 238-39.

4. The etymological connection with O.E. *gremian* that is alleged (p. 238) is surely false, and the Dutch verb *grimmelen* 'to begrime' cited by Skeat at *grime* is certainly irrelevant.

5. F. P. H. Prick van Wely, *Cassell's English-Dutch Dutch-English Dictionary* (3d ed.; London, 1957).

semi-static inherent in the reified figure of the goblinlike hitchhiker"⁶ notwithstanding, there is no visible semantic connection between a verb that means 'to swarm with' and a noun that means 'foot-high gnome.'

Nor is it likely that an English noun would have been composed on the basis of a Dutch verb. Experience shows that, especially on the colloquial level, words are borrowed as the same part of speech and with essentially the same meaning as they have in the language of origin. Thus, an important link is missing in Mr. Clark's chain of evidence. In order to demonstrate plausibility for his etymology, he must first establish the existence either of a Dutch noun on the order of **grimmeling* meaning something close to 'gnome,' or an English verb **grimmel* or **gremmel* from which the noun could be derived. As he has done neither the one nor the other, we must reject his proposed etymology on semantic and morphological grounds. There is nothing to favor his proposed etymology except (probably fortuitous) phonetic similarity—and even this is not so great when one takes into account the fact that the Dutch *g* is a voiceless spirant and the stem vowels for the three forms which Mr. Clark has cited are [i], [e:], and [i:].

Now admittedly, Irish *gruaimín* is not an entirely satisfactory etymon, either with regard to pronunciation (presumably [gru:e'mi:n]) or form, so that one can only assume that if it is the correct etymon, it was phonetically distorted and reconstructed along the lines of *goblin*. The "perh." included in the *NID* 3 etymology is intended to convey these doubts. But at least *gruaimín* is a word that is the same part of speech as *gremlin* and that could easily have been borrowed into English. The parallel of *leprechaun* suggests itself immediately as a good precedent for this type of borrowing. Indeed, it would not be surprising to find that *gremlin* was consciously coined by someone who wanted a new "cute" word in the Irish pixie tradition.

At any rate, the *NID* 3 etymology is considerably more plausible than anything else that has been suggested, and I see no reason for discarding it until something better is proposed.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: In reply to Mr. Clark's proposal of an etymon for *gremlin* in a Dutch verb meaning 'to swarm with, crawl with, be overrun with something . . .,' Mr. Kratz makes a cogent defense of the etymon that he supports, an Irish Gaelic noun meaning 'ill-humored little fellow.' And certainly it is possible to regard *gremlin* as a hybrid blend of the suggested Irish Gaelic *gruaimín* (noun) + English *goblin* (noun), with the foreign component apocopated to

gruaim- (and then with the vocalic center changed) before being combined with the *-lin* of *goblin*. On the other hand, it may be equally possible to view *gremlin* as a hybrid blend of the suggested Dutch *gremelen* (verb) + English *goblin* (noun), with similar apocopation of the foreign component to *grem-* (or conceivably *gremel-*, with later loss of the weak vowel).

The latter proposal may be an improvement on Mr. Clark's original suggestion, inasmuch as it offers an answer to Mr. Kratz's two chief objections to Clark's theory: objections on morphological and semantic grounds. First, the combination of verb + noun to make a new noun has precedents in English, as in *crybaby* and *playboy* (in both of which, as in the present proposal, the noun is the performer of the action of the verb), though I cannot recall offhand any exact parallel to the kind of blending here suggested: foreign verb + English noun. If this possibility, however, is acceptable, it nullifies Kratz's objection that Clark attempts to go from a Dutch verb to an English noun without an intervening Dutch noun or English verb. Second, there seems to be little semantic implausibility in interpreting *grem(elen)-(gob)lin* (i.e., *gremlin*) as 'a goblin who crawls (over an airplane).' The chief difficulty seems to lie in the shift from the passive sense of *gremelen* 'to crawl with' to the proposed active sense 'crawl(s)' in the blendword. But similar shifts are not unknown. In "chicken fries fast in this pan," the verb *fries* is passive in meaning (= 'is fried'); but *fry* can also be used in an active sense, as in the compound *frypan* (= 'a pan that performs the action of frying').

Whatever the correct etymology of *gremlin* may be, it seems very probable that *gremlin* was constructed as a blend of *X* + *goblin*, as Kratz in effect concedes and as Clark perhaps implies. To assume that *X* = Ir. *gruaimin* presents phonetic difficulties; to assume that *X* = D. *gremelen* presents grammatical difficulties. Assuming that the blend was made by a member of the RAF c. 1940, which word is the more likely to have been familiar to him—the Irish or the Dutch?

E. A. S.

1. "TIGER," "TAGGER," AND [aɪ] IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

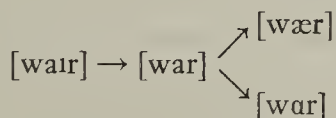
R. Whitney Tucker's comments about Philadelphia pronunciation¹ are relevant to some of my own observations of local pronunciations. This is especially true of *tagger* for *tiger*, frequent in Pittsburgh and Youngstown and apparently also in the surrounding parts of western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio. So familiar was this pronunciation to my youth in Pittsburgh (including the obvious spelling) that I still have an inescapable though naïve association

1. R. Whitney Tucker, "More on the Philadelphia Dialect," *American Speech*, XXXIX (1964), 157-58.

of *Tagger*-brand typewriter ribbon with the word *tiger*—even to the present point of wondering whether there *is* a connection here with the brand name.

Not only does [tæɡə] conform to the phonetic variation before [g], which is Tucker's point, but it also exhibits a striking parallel to other variations of the [aɪ] diphthong in the speech of western Pennsylvania and other areas. I have heard, most frequently from children (including my own), but also from adults in this Pennsylvania-Ohio area, the pronunciation [tær] *tire*, corresponding to what I will for convenience call the "school pronunciation" [taɪr], or [taɪ̯ə]. This [tær] is almost certainly an approximation of the "normal" pronunciation [tar]—that is, with the so-called "New England broad *a*" or "Confederate *a*" low-front vowel.²

There is, consequently, a range of variation, within but clearly not peculiar to western Pennsylvania, that suggests "stages" of either variation or historical change. Pronunciations of the word *wire* suggest this derivational relationship:



Corresponding to this relationship is the series [taɪ̯ə], [tagə], [tæɡə] *tiger*. I have never heard the pronunciation [tagə] and would guess that it is phonologically unlikely in the diaphonic variations before [g].

There are several kinds of complications implicit in this variety. In trying to assess the "respectability" of the variants for *tire*, I am inclined to label [taɪr] (frequently dissyllabic) a "school" pronunciation, [tar] a "natural" pronunciation, [tær] a "childlike approximation," and [tər] a "rural" usage. Kurath and McDavid's presentation of Linguistic Atlas information demonstrates the provinciality of my latter two subjective assignments, even though the Atlas indication of the occasional rime of *car* and *wire* in the South Midland³ does not contradict the probability of a sometime tendency to distinguish [tar] *tire* and [tər] *tar* in areas where the two do in fact coalesce. I have regularly found, furthermore, that in pronouncing these words, western Pennsylvanians will hear the contrast of *tire/tar* in [tar] versus [tər], as will many Ohioans, especially those from below the old Western Reserve boundary.

2. The occurrence of [war] = [waɪr] for *wire* in and around both Pittsburgh and Philadelphia (as well as in the South and South Midland) is indicated in Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid, Jr., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor, 1961), Map 47. Their phonetic chart for the cultured informant from Pittsburgh (p. 65) also shows [wæɪr] *wire*, and for the cultured informant from Philadelphia (p. 59) the limited upglide [æɪ] for *wire* and *five*. Also relevant here is the fact of some shared Pittsburgh and Philadelphia usages not found in central Pennsylvania (Kurath-McDavid, p. 18).

3. Kurath-McDavid, p. 19.

There seems to be good reason to view the occurrence in Pennsylvania of [a] = [aɪ], whatever its association as the "Confederate *a*," as one item of the sort that leads Kurath and McDavid to characterize the South Midland, historically, as "a blend of Pennsylvanian and Southern features, graded from north to south."⁴

Another implication of both Tucker's note on *tagger* and the Atlas information, as they apply to the speech of Pennsylvania, would seem to be in the effect of following consonants on the monophthongization of [aɪ] in the North Midland. For the three relevant words in their materials, Kurath and McDavid indicate a wide spread of [a] in *wire* throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and eastern Ohio;⁵ a restricted glide [a·ɛ] or [a·ɛ̃] in *nine*, however, is limited to the extreme south of Pennsylvania and to Philadelphia and Pittsburgh;⁶ though their information on *twice*⁷ is not directed at this matter alone, the implication is clearly that the tendency toward a monophthong in *twice* is not current north of western Virginia and North Carolina.

The effect of these circumstances on my impressions of western Pennsylvania pronunciation is to suggest that the different frequencies of monophthongs for [aɪ] are tied to the articulatory class of the following consonant. My own speech has the front monophthong [a] in *tile*, *Wylie/wily*, *silo*, and so on, as well as in *wire*, *tire*, *fiery*, and so on. The greatest frequency of [a] or [aɪ] is clearly before the liquids /l/ and /r/. The incidence of [a] seems almost as great with some nasals—perhaps always before /n/ and least frequently before /ŋ/ (vague for the latter because of the rarity of [-aɪŋ] words).

The relevant data presented by Kurath and McDavid seem to harmonize with this much of my generalization. The occurrence in Pennsylvania speech familiar to me of [tagə], from which [tægə] would be a normal development, as well as [raɛz] *rise* (but [raɪs] *rice*), would suggest that voicing rather than stop or fricative articulation is, in importance, the third articulatory feature to "permit" monophthongization. Least permissive in this sense, then, are voiceless stops and fricatives, which do not seem to allow preceding [a] for [aɪ] in Pennsylvania pronunciation. The apparent increase of monophthongs for [aɪ], before all consonants and finally, may consequently turn out to be one of the clearer items of the north-to-south grading that Kurath and McDavid perceive in South Midland pronunciation.

2. DIPHTHONGAL VARIANTS OF [ɛ] AND [æ] IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

In the "Miscellany" item referred to above, Tucker also mentions the pronunciation of the words *league*, *vague*, and *legal* with monophthongs in

4. *Ibid.*

5. Kurath-McDavid, Map 47.

6. *Ibid.*, Map 26.

7. *Ibid.*, Map 27.

Philadelphia. A trend in the speech of western Pennsylvania may be cited in contrast; again, the pronunciation of *tiger* provides a point of departure: a fourth pronunciation variant, [tæɪgə], has some currency. Also current in the speech of this area are the pronunciation [æɪʃɪz] *ashes* and the riming of *Haig* with one or more of the group *keg, egg, leg, beg*—that is, with [ɛɪ] or [eɪ]. While some speakers pronounce the whole series of -*eg* words with [eɪ], there is considerable fluctuation and alternation of [ɛ] and [eɪ]—even in one person's pronunciation. The absence of [æɪ] in *ashes*¹ and the rarity of [eɪ] in *egg*² reported by Kurath and McDavid for Pennsylvania suggest that these pronunciations are innovations, from Maryland and West Virginia.

From the limited observations I have been able to make of the incidence of [tæɪgə] *tiger* and [æɪʃɪz] *ashes*, it seems that they do not occur together in the speech of one person; a probable diaphonemic (language- rather than dialect-ordered) distinction would appear to be operating. That is, where [æɪ] occurs in western Pennsylvania, it will represent /æ/ or /aɪ/ but not both; [æɪʃɪz] represents the former, [tæɪgə] the latter, phonological norm. But even this presumed "working norm" of contrast breaks down before the syllable-final velar nasal [ŋ]. Among my pronunciation notes, I have recorded a range of [sæɪŋ], [sæŋ], [sɛ'ŋ] for *sang* in the Pittsburgh-Youngstown area.³ That [aɪ] has a place in this series I feel sure, judging by the sound-matching that people frequently make between *Hankey* (the first syllable of which typically matches one's pronunciation of *hang*) and *Heinicke* (typically, of course, with [aɪ]).

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EYE DIALECT IN "LI'L ABNER"

The exploitation of eye dialect seems to be a particularly common feature among American authors. This may be only a case of familiarity breeding awareness, but one thinks immediately of such figures as Mark Twain, Roark Bradford, Joel Chandler Harris, William Faulkner, Robert Ruark, and, of course, Li'l Abner's contemporary and linguistic equal, Snuffy Smith. The matter of including a comic strip artist in the ranks of "legitimate" authors may be questioned, but at least one of the latter has expressed his opinion with

1. Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid, Jr., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor, 1961), Map 13.

2. *Ibid.*, Map 63.

3. To fill out this variety, I might add the pronunciation [sen] *sang* in western Michigan, especially noticeable in Muskegon. This wide variation makes unfortunate the use of *sang* as a key word illustrating [æ] in John S. Kenyon and Thomas A. Knott, *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* (Springfield, Mass., 1944), p. xvii—a difficulty not present in (at least the last edition of) John S. Kenyon, *American Pronunciation* (Ann Arbor, 1950).

absolute clarity. John Steinbeck not only wrote an introduction for a collection of Li'l Abner strips but also called Al Capp "very possibly the best writer in the world today."¹ Charles Chaplin, who may be presumed to know something about art, added a similarly laudatory foreword to the same volume.²

One who provokes such opinions deserves scrutiny; certainly any linguistic interest would be piqued by the Capp panels. Without benefit of the International Phonetic Alphabet, the inhabitants of Dogpatch have achieved formidable effect with their speech. But at least part of this effect is the illusory one known as *eye dialect*.

Most of the spelling deviations employed by Capp clearly indicate departures from the prescriptive pronunciation norms laid down by Noah Webster and industriously pursued by nineteenth-century elocutionists. Thus, "Ah shore could eat mo' po'k chops, Mammy," presumably turns Mr. Webster's sarcophagus instantly at 5,000 revolutions per minute. But which of the most fastidious elocutionists could object to the vocalized result of *enuff*, probably the oftenest repeated of Capp's eye-dialect usages? The most avid huckster of "correct" pronunciation would (as Capp spells) have to *lissen* very hard for any vocal *ackshun* which would try his *aristocratick pashunce* and make necessary any *speshul, offishul correckshun*.

No matter how high the *mountin* of their *prejoodice*,³ nor how bad their *naytchures*, no matter if their *heering* were *ideel*, the confessed *goormays* of choice usage would need *soopernatcher*al aid to find anything audible to *correkt* in such examples. However *delishus* these *feends* find their comments, they would have had to have *bin* still as the *hed* on a *statchoo* and allow us all *relax-ay-shun* in cases like these. It were better so: the *introduckshun* of their *reservayshuns* often *barbyques* our tempers.

There can be little question as to the conscious exploitation of eye dialect by Capp. The word *goormay*, for example, is quoted above. When it was used in the comic strip, Li'l Abner was in the company of the overcivilized Bounder J. Roundheels. Bounder's whole aim in life, as he confessed, was to gain entrance to the Everest-like exclusivity of the local Gourmets' Club. When Bounder himself used the word, it was spelled conventionally; when Abner used it, it was given the more phonetically literal spelling. This represents a device continually employed by Capp. Even when no pronunciation difference occurs, the cityfolks' spelling is very proper (excepting the natives of Brooklyn and Lower

1. Al Capp, *The World of Li'l Abner* (New York, 1953), pp. i-vi.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii.

3. One might, of course, interpret *prejoodice* as [ˈprɛdʒuˌdaɪs], but the conventional spelling of the last syllable makes this doubtful: [ˈprɛdʒədəs] instead of [ˈprɛdʒudəs] might be a more tenable reservation.

Slobbovia), while the Dogpatchers roughhew even such a simple interjection as *whut*.

The only exception seems to be made in the interests of ready comprehension by the reader. Apparently as a device to preserve easy understanding, for example, Pansy Yokum, bounding to new heights of literacy, was once constrained to pronounce herself and her family *soshul leopards*. But in a previous strip, largely concerned with the malevolence of a real leopard, the Yokums consistently called it a *leppard*. Usually they called it a *wil' cat*, but when they were in the company of better-informed people they corrected themselves. This represents, I think, one of Capp's more considerable achievements. One is never bogged down trying to decipher a particularly outrageous spelling. Whether it actually represents dialect or merely feigns it, as in the cases under discussion, the unaccustomed spelling is often in heavy block letters, regularly hyphenated when more than monosyllabic, and cushioned on either side by conventional spelling.

I have used so far, I think, words that are likely to be uncontroversial in their pronunciation as Capp has spelled them, words like *reskerw*. But Capp has a finely tuned ear. He includes not only the obvious dialect words—*po'k chop*—and the less obvious masquerades under discussion but also a good many words which may or may not represent dialect. If, for example, Ole Man Mose's *pree-dick-shun* is accented on the first syllable, it is clearly a dialect word. But if not, it is just as clearly eye dialect. A good many of Capp's choices fall into this category, and the same accent question applies to them. Instances include such words as the oft-repeated *Yew-nited States*, to which Li'l Abner is so red-bloodedly devoted. The *leppard* mentioned earlier was beyond doubt *fee-ro-shus* and even caused some *dee-struck-shun*. Li'l Abner often *ap-pree-she-aytes* favors which many of us would consider doubtful, since they often *cree-ayte* problems, most definitely not *eemajinary* ones. And so forth.

A third class of words perhaps most surely asserts the attunement of Capp's ear. Kenyon and Knott's *Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* records the Dogpatch *stoopid* in colloquial usage,⁴ although in the course of conversation few but the phoneticians are any the wiser. So also with a word like *noo*. Again, conversational use of Capp's *respeck*, *natcherly*, *gra-joo-ly*, and *perfeshunal* might escape even practiced attention. The phrase, "I respect Ken," for instance, if said rapidly, would put Professor Henry Higgins on his toes. And both *natcherly* and *gra-joo-ly* become perfectly respectable, even by Kenyon and Knott's standards, if the whisper of a schwa insinuates itself between the

4. John S. Kenyon and Thomas A. Knott, *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* (Springfield, Mass., 1944), p. 411.

second and third syllables. While Capp makes no indication of such an insertion, it is hard to say the word without wondering whether you did put it in. Similarly, the detection of the inverted *r* in *perfeshunal* is hardly less fine a distinction.

At all events, "I respeck Capp." But I no longer believe everything I think I see in his comic strip.

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PRESCRIBING WITHOUT A LICENSE

"Is there a doctor in the house?" If this question is asked, there is little doubt as to who will respond. It won't be a witch doctor or a dentist, nor is it likely that a chiropractor or a veterinarian will quickly step up. Chances are the request had no reference to a makeshift device for making emergency repairs, and it is also most improbable that a minister will come forward. However, it is quite certain that no Ph.D. will offer his services.

"I'd like you to meet Dr. Jones." "Oh, I'm so happy to meet you. Are you associated with City Hospital or Gilford Memorial?" A colleague of mine once told me he was sure he dropped many points in the estimation of the questioner when the latter discovered he wasn't a physician.

To the man in the street, then, *doctor* means 'physician.' One may ask why this is so. In parts of Europe and elsewhere *doctor* does not exclusively signify 'physician.' Part of the reason undoubtedly lies in the small number of graduate schools in this country which granted earned Ph.D. degrees before the twentieth century. The effect was to produce a comparative proliferation of M.D.'s. Lately, however, the yearly number of Ph.D.'s produced has exceeded that of M.D. graduates by about 3,000. If the present trend continues, the Ph.D.'s will eventually outnumber the M.D.'s. But for the moment there are about twice as many M.D.'s as Ph.D.'s in the United States, and of that number of Ph.D.'s, only about half are employed full time in their fields.

Another part of the reason is to be found in the nonavailability of alternative titles for a physician. Except in Great Britain, where a surgeon is often addressed as *mister*, no one in the English-speaking world ever addresses a physician as anything but *doctor*. (*Professor* for a physician is as rare as *doctor* for a lawyer.) However, an examination of the three other professions—*theology*, *teaching*, and *the law*—reveals that each group has a wider choice of titles for its members than the profession of medicine. Though the former three professions all use *mister*, and *theology* and *teaching* both regularly employ the title *doctor*, they also have available, respectively, such titles as *father*, *pastor*, *vicar*, *bishop*, and so on; *professor*, *president*, *dean*, and so on; and *attorney*, *counselor*, *judge*, and so on. Thus, we could say the physicians today have not so

much usurped the title *doctor* as they have tenaciously, and rightfully, held on to it in order to identify themselves socially. This desire to set oneself apart, as it were, would seem to be a perfectly human thing to do. It is precisely those Protestant denominations having no suitable everyday title for their clergy (e.g., Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians) that have been awarding so many D.D. degrees in the last ten to fifteen years. Those who hold other honorary degrees do not generally make use of their title in this country unless it is felt the title enhances their position.

A check of 141 college catalogs from throughout the United States has revealed that 102 colleges apparently monolithically use *mister* as a title for their professors, while only 39 employ *doctor*. Since, as an act of apparent reverse snobbery, most Ivy League colleges avoid *doctor*, I suspected the majority of "significant" colleges (my choosing) would use *mister*, while the reverse might be true for those colleges having comparatively few Ph.D.'s on their staffs. Investigation showed, however, that 72 percent of the "significant" schools used *mister*, while 73 percent of the "less significant" institutions also used *mister*! I am not prepared to say whether this very obvious trend to the use of *mister* represents excessive modesty, pseudodemocratization, or rampant reverse snobbery. The fact which emerges from this survey is that most people know professors (and other holders of the Ph.D. degree) as *mister*, not even as *professor*. Some of the more curious usages in the catalogs include the listing of a minister on the board of trustees as *doctor*, though faculty members were listed as *mister*, and the practice of one famous college of referring to its European summer school staff as *doctor*, but to its own as *mister*. But perhaps most bizarre of all was the listing of one faculty member as *Mr. So-and-so, Ph.D.*, and of another in the same list simply as *John Doe, M.D.*

There can be no room for dogmatism on the subject of titles. Certainly, no puny effort on the part of a few is going to alter a semantic process in which *doctor* is now synonymous with a practitioner of the healing arts. At the same time, *doctor* is, according to all recent dictionaries, a title associated with the holders of doctoral degrees of various sorts. Why, then, do Ph.D.'s not use the title more readily? No doubt, to some it is *parvenu* or, at the very least, immodest; to some others it is somehow "dishonest." Important, though, is the fact that being a doctor originally meant being knowledgeable enough in a subject to teach it. There is a certain necessity in America for helping to eliminate ridicule of "brainy" people. Therefore, if I were permitted to write a prescription, I would suggest that less modesty would be in order for the possessor of a Ph.D. and that he should pridefully promote the use of *doctor*.

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I. DRY-LAND DIALECT

Regional dialects in America tend to become less distinct. Not very many years ago, dialects from various sections of the nation seemed more akin to foreign languages. But under the influence of radio and television and as a result of the American pastime of traveling by car, the extremes are now being modified. If the modification continues, we conceivably may cease to have regional dialects. Clearly, efforts should be made to preserve on records and tapes some of the dialects that are vanishing.

Dry-land dialect—one of these vanishing dialects—in its purest form is being spoken by Ken Curtis, an actor currently appearing as the character Festus Haggen in the television series “Gunsmoke” (reruns of which have been retitled “Marshal Dillon”). The magazine *TV Guide* has published an article on this “former crooner, singing cowboy, movie bit player and . . . TV hero.”¹ As the article relates, “Ken Curtis picked up the accent . . . as a boy in the dry-lands of southeastern Colorado, where he was born Curtis Gates in a two-room prairie cabin. . . . His father was a homesteader and for a time sheriff of Las Animas, Colo.”

The importance of Curtis’s dialect was discovered by the producer John Ford, who is Curtis’s father-in-law. Curtis was rehearsing as Festus Haggen in a Ford picture, “The Searchers.” The part was supposed to be serious, but as Curtis tells the incident in *TV Guide*, “I was kidding around on the set, doing the dry-land dialect. I didn’t even know Mr. Ford was listening. Then when it came time for me to do my lines, he said, ‘How would you say that in dry-land?’ I did it for him, and he said, ‘Play it that way.’ ”

Authentic dry-land dialect can be heard and studied by listening to Festus Haggen as played by Ken Curtis.

2. “GOD-SHOP” FOR “CHURCH”

The Negro author James Baldwin used the expression *God-Shop* a number of times on the National Educational Television program “Take This Hammer” which was televised in Nebraska over KUON-TV, the University of Nebraska station, on Thursday, March 5, 1964. This program was an examination of Negro youth in the San Francisco area. Baldwin was televised part of the time in a car touring the Negro sections of San Francisco, and he pointed out the various churches, which he called *God-Shops*. The expression *God-Shop* was used by him indiscriminately for any church building, whether Catholic or Protestant, and for a religious mission as well. Thus, a *God-Shop* is a building where the services and the “word of God” are obtainable.

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1. *TV Guide*, June 27, 1964, pp. 12-13.

A GLIMPSE INTO RECORDS AT SURRY COURTHOUSE, VIRGINIA

The original records of Surry County, Virginia, complete from 1652 to the present day, are preserved in the clerk's office at Surry courthouse and have furnished a wealth of material to historians and genealogists. But no trained linguist has ever examined these records and published his observations. In this note I report my findings as to the vocabulary, grammar, and spellings which might be of significance to linguists interested in the language of English colonists during the last half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth.

Surry County lies on the south side of the James River directly opposite Jamestown. From its earliest colonization, and even before it broke away from James City County in 1652 and became organized as Surry County, it was referred to by the Jamestown settlers as "over on the Surrey side," just as back in England they had referred to the part of London lying on the south side of the Thames, in the shire of Surrey. The first "Plantations across the water" were considered a part of the Jamestown settlement.¹

Almost all of the people who settled Surry were from England. There is no evidence of an influx of settlers from any other country up to this day. The area is far removed from any urban area, the county is still rural, and most of the white inhabitants are descendants of the colonists. Today, the majority of the population is Negro, consistent with the fact that the area was made up of plantations worked largely by slaves until the Civil War. However, the proportion of slaves to whites during the hundred years under consideration was very small.²

Of the record books at the courthouse, the Will Books and the Court Order Books contain the most interesting and valuable linguistic material. Although the language of the wills is largely conventional, each will evidences the individuality of the legator. A typical will is that of Nathaniel Knight, dated March 5, 1677:

In the name of God Amen I Nathaniell Knight of Surry County in Virga: Chirurgion being very sick and weake in body but in perfect minde & memory thankes be given to God for the same: Doe make and ordaine this my last will & Testament in manner and forme following: first and principally I give my Soule into the hands of Almighty God my Creator who gave it being fully ashured that I shall receive Pardon and Remission of all my sinns by the Merritts of my blessed Savior and Redeemer Jesus Christ and my body to the Earth from whence it came to be decently buried. . . .³

The following words and expressions, not in common use today, are found in the Will Books in the volume and on the page indicated:

CARTOUCH, *n.* Cartridge. "My cartouch box. . . ." (Book 7, p. 773, *anno* 1727.)
CHIRURGION, *n.* Surgeon. (Book 2, p. 169, *anno* 1677.)

1. John Bennett Boddie, *Colonial Surry* (Richmond, 1948), p. 1.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Will Book 2, p. 169.

ENTERTAINMENT, *n.* Food and drink. "Have some entertainment for guests at my funeral." (Book 2, p. 114, *anno* 1676.)

GREAT COAT, *n.* Overcoat. (Book 7, p. 800, *anno* 1728.)

MANNER PLANTATION, *n. phr.* The main plantation on which the manor house is located. (Book 9, p. 431, *anno* 1743.)

NOW, *adj.* Present. "My now wife. . . ." (Book 2, p. 190, *anno* 1678.) "My now dwelling plantation. . . ." (Book 5, p. 155, *anno* 1698.)

OUTCRY, *n.* Auction. "My goods to be sold by way of outcry. . . ." (Book 7, p. 243, *anno* 1719.)

WENCH, *n.* Young woman servant. "Wench Jane and negro. . . ." (Book 8, p. 14, *anno* 1729.)

The following terms have to do with cloth left to others in wills:

DOWLAS, *n.* A coarse linen cloth manufactured in Northern England. "Onc peece of Dowlas, 20 or 30 ells. . . ." (Book 7, p. 277, *anno* 1720.)

ELL, *n.* A term used in measuring cloth. It was about 45 inches. "6 ells of dowlas. . . ." (Book 7, p. 79, *anno* 1717.)

HOLLAND, *n.* A kind of linen first manufactured in Holland. "3 ells of holland. . . ." (Book 8, p. 497, *anno* 1735.)

OZENBRIG, *n.* Osnaburg. A heavy coarse cotton cloth in a plain weave. "As much ozenbrigs as will make her a bed. . . ." (Book 6, p. 90, *anno* 1711.)

The following terms denoting family relationships had not settled into today's usage:

COZEN, *n.* Cousin. "To my cozen John Humphry, son of my sister Mary Humphry. . . ." (Book 7, p. 800, *anno* 1728.)

MOTHER-IN-LAW, *n.* This term referred throughout the records to a stepmother.

NEECE, *n.* "My loving neece, Charles Williams, son to my well-loved brother. . . ." (Book 2, p. 111, *anno* 1671.)

NEPHEW, *n.* "To my nephew, Mary Cripps and nephew Ann Fields. . . ." (Book 9, p. 627, *anno* 1749.)

Unborn children were referred to in several ways:

"The child which my wife is now big with. . . ." (Book 8, p. 459, *anno* 1734.)

"The child my wife now goes with. . . ." (Book 2, p. 195, *anno* 1677.)

"The child to be born. . . ." (Book 8, p. 459, *anno* 1734.)

"With child. . . ." (Book 2, p. 36, *anno* 1673.)

The depositions, recorded in the words of the deponent, furnish us with vivid word pictures not only of the doings of these rugged men and women but also of the way in which they expressed themselves in speaking. The following quotations, interesting even out of context, are taken from Books 1 and 2 of the Court Orders covering the period from 1652 to 1682. I have italicized unusual words or expressions.

"He came of *his owne simple head*." (Book 2, p. 41, *anno* 1673.)

A tailor had to make some "*freedom clothes*" for a man, probably an indentured servant who had served his term. (Book 2, p. 43, *anno* 1673.)

"*Unlawful dogs* that attacked Spenser's boys. . . ." (Book 1, p. 223, *anno* 1663.)

"He hoped that Coll. Swan would be *pulked bar* (plucked bare). . . ." (Book 2, p. 149, *anno* 1677.)

"He does not doubt that when he finds his hope of freedom *circumstarted* he will run away."

(Book 1, p. 119, *anno* 1658.)

"A *pock* take it!" (Book 2, p. 130, *anno* 1677.)

Some excerpts from the same depositions show something about the grammar then in use:

"comfortablest things" (Book 1, p. 231, *anno* 1663.)

"learn him to right" (Book 5, p. 148, *anno* 1697.)

"abuilding" (Book 2, p. 166, *anno* 1677.)

"My boat was but small" (Book 2, p. 130, *anno* 1677.)

"and he snaped me up and said Noe you shall waite my Leisure, you shall not goe." (Book 2, p. 130, *anno* 1677.)

"Michael Heiward and he were by the garden pales and when he took his leave Heiward answered, 'Well, friend, I shall never see thee more, for here I shall leave my Yorkshire heels.' A fortnight later Heiward did die." (Book 1, p. 14, *anno* 1652.)

"Your deponent did looke one the Horse & he appeared to be very well & in good likeing . . . and the said Lee did say he will leave his owne horse there whilst he rid the tother to Mr. Busbys for he had rod his owne a great way & had neede to favour him." (Book 2, p. 71, *anno* 1677.)

A message from Jeremiah Ellis to Major Browne saying that he cannot come to court as his "wife is newly brought to bed & now lieth in & I have noe body but myself to looke to her." (Book 2, p. 71, *anno* 1675.)

"I am very sorry that it hath fallen out soe crosse that you have been played the knave withall as I am informed." (Book 1, p. 193, *anno* 1662.)

The following list of spellings may be useful as evidence in the study of the pronunciation used in Old Surry during the hundred years under consideration: *bar* 'bare' (1677), *bidel* 'bridle' (1728), *bole* 'bowl' (1687), *bonester* 'bolster' (1687), *camblett* 'camlet' (1721), *chists* 'chests' (1741), *clapst* 'clasped' (1721), *clarke* 'clerk' (1677), *cloathing* 'clothing' (1663), *collier* 'collar' (1735), *cozen* and *couzen* 'cousin' (1719), *crick* 'creek' (1678), *exceped* 'except' (1697), *facet* 'faced' (1735), *fourer* 'four' (1711), *gound* 'gown' (1737), *grutched* 'grudged' (1677), *heith* 'height' (1677), *histle* 'hostile' (1677), *hose* 'horse' (1728), *hower* 'hour' (1653), *kittle* 'kettle' (1727), *mellitious* 'malicious' (1660), *orgin* 'organ' (1716), *orphant* 'orphan' (1733), *ould* 'old' (1653), *premtorily* 'peremptorily' (1677), *punshon* 'punchon' (1677), *puter* 'pewter' (1714), *shugar* 'sugar' (1702), *skelet* 'skillet' (1728), *sould* 'sold' (1654), *souldrs* 'soldiers' (1677), *soward* 'sword' (1734), *spinot* 'spinet' (1716), *sudel* 'saddle' (1728), *untell* 'until' (1677), *voyall* 'viol' (1716), *weare* 'were' (1677), *wescoat* 'waistcoat' (1713), *wether* 'whether' (1711).

Proper names in the records were spelled in a variety of ways, with little regard for the spelling used by the owners of the names. Since the spellings were often phonetic, we can infer how these names were pronounced. In the following list, the generally accepted spelling of the name is followed by some of the other more significant spellings found in the records: Atkinson, Atkison, Attkisson; Burgess, Burches, Burges; Figures, Figgers; Hamlin, Hamblett, Hamelin; Jarrett, Jaratt, Jarrad, Jared, Garrett, Jarrott, Jarrard; Newsome,

Newsham, Newsum, Nusam, Newsone; Plowe, Plough, Plawe, Ploie; Reynolds, Rennels, Rennolds, Renals; Stringfellow, Strinkfeler; Threet, Threawt, Threewits, Threewets, Threeweet; Truett, Triuett; Vaughan, Vahan, Vawhan; Warren, Waringe, Warring, Warrine; Ward, Woard.

A deposition from Book 2, page 82, may call to mind the engaging rewards which study of these priceless old records can bring:

Christopher Brasse aged 25 years or thereabouts and Examined the 25th of June, 1675 saith that on that Monday the 21st of this Instant in the morning this Deponent met with Nicholas Paine, his fellow servant, in the mount asked him how he durst throw bricks at his master: the said Nicholas Replied a plague take the damd gate if it had not bin for that he had hit him. This deponent answered him that he did believe it would be the dearest brick that ever he threw in his life.

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“LAYING WASTE”

A recent issue of *Time*¹ states that “Boston has laid waste to 60 slum acres in the center of town.” The *NID* 3 does not record the form *lay waste to a place*; the reported usage is (under *lay*, verb) ‘lay waste the land’ and (under *waste*, adjective) ‘a bombing that laid waste the city.’ (These phrases are to be taken as representing also the variant *lay the city waste*.) Nor does the *OED* report any instance in the past four centuries of *lay waste to a place*. But the fact that the construction with *to* has survived the editorial apparatus of a popular magazine suggests that the construction is current.

A poll I have taken of about a hundred college students, asking for a preference between *they laid waste the city* and *they laid waste to the city*, produced this result: a quarter were uncertain, a quarter chose the first, and half chose the second. In a further inquiry among more than a dozen people of superior education, almost half stated a preference for the form with *to*.

I assume that these samples are representative. The figures do not necessarily reflect usage, since a person may prefer one form to another without using either. But I interpret them to mean that when *lay waste* is used, it is probable that the form with the added *to* will occur a substantial part of the time.

The addition of *to* produces a change in the syntax of the phrase. In the original, *waste* is an adjective, of a type to which various labels are applied, the most common, perhaps, being *objective complement*. In the phrase with *to*, *waste* is a noun, the direct object of *laid*.

1. *Time*, November 6, 1964, p. 60.

This change in form and syntax is, I think, not a random mutation; it is the result of a tendency, in language as elsewhere, to press a minority form into the mold of the majority and thus achieve regularity and simplicity. For example, singular nouns ending in *-s*, like the original form of *cherry*, are under pressure to become plurals. A more recent case is *kudos*, which the *NID 3* reports is now a plural as well as a singular; and instances of the back-formation *kudo* can be found.²

The development of *lay waste* exemplifies the same principle. The syntactical pattern consisting of verb + direct object + adjective objective complement, as illustrated by *this made the man angry* or *they laid the city waste*, is a familiar one and therefore tends to be stable. But the pattern of *lay waste the city*, where the complement precedes the object, is much less common than the pattern of verb + direct object + prepositional phrase, as found in *lay his ear to the ground* or *lay waste to the city*. Since a small change in the form of the original phrase—the addition of an unstressed *to*—produces a phrase in the common pattern, it was to be expected that the change would take place.

Of course, a variation in language can arise only if it conforms in detail to the speaker's sense of propriety. A *to* can be added to *lay waste* only because *waste* is both adjective and noun; the evolution of *he laid bare his innermost thoughts* into *he laid bare to his innermost thoughts* is very unlikely. Furthermore, the new formation is probably felt to be authorized by the precedent of phrases that have the form *lay* + object + *to*: *lay claim to*, *lay siege to*, and so on.

There is no difficulty, then, in understanding why this development should take place. The problem is, rather, why it did not occur at an earlier date. Any answer to this question is conjectural, but a plausible hypothesis is that the original phrase has a strong biblical association and has therefore been preserved, until recently, by the influence of the Bible. It is noteworthy that the earliest instance recorded by the *OED* is Coverdale's translation, in 1535, of Psalm 79.7: "they haue . . . layed waiste his dwellinge place." Since the power of the Bible over matters of usage has diminished in our time, the force of regularity is operating to iron out this wrinkle in our language.

When the *NID 4* is published, it will, I regretfully predict, report *lay waste to the land* as an established form.

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2. A full treatment of this example is provided by Atcheson L. Hench in his "Miscellany" item "Singular, 'kudos' and plural, 'kudos'; Singular, 'kudo,'" *American Speech*, XXXVIII (1963), 303-5.



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